



T H E

LONDON MAGAZINE.

DECEMBER, 1734.

PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the *last Session* of
PARLIAMENT; continued from *Page 566.*

*Remainder of the DEBATE on the Motion for
repealing the Septennial Act.*



—1 B—en. Sir,
I cannot give my Assent
to the Question now in
your hand. The Repeal
of the *Septennial Law* is
a Motion I cannot in my
Conscience agree to; for
tho' one of the Motives

for enacting that Law does not at present exist in such an apparent Manner, as it did at the Time it was enacted, yet it cannot be said, that even that Motive has now entirely ceased; I wish with all my Heart it could be justly said, that there is not now a *Jacobite* or disaffected Person in the Nation; but I am afraid no such Thing can be justly said for many Years to come; and therefore even that Motive, which the Hon. Gentlemen, who have spoke upon the other Side of the Question, have said to be the only Motive for enacting that Law, has not yet entirely ceased: But, Sir, this was not the only Motive for enacting that Law; if Gentlemen had given Attention to the Preamble of that Law, they would have found many other Reasons mentioned for enacting it, which are now as strong for continuing it.

It has been said, Sir, that this Law has been attended with several Inconveniencies, which I cannot say I was ever sensible of; and I think they have not yet been made sufficiently appear by any of the Gentlemen who have spoke in this Debate; but, granting

there were any such, is this a Time to repeal a Law which has been productive of so much Good, and which so much strengthens his Majesty's Government, only because it has been found to be attended with a few trifling Inconveniencies? I cannot think that the Gentlemen who talk at this rate are so ignorant of human Affairs, as they now pretend to be; they must certainly know, that all human Institutions are attended with Inconveniencies, and all that the wisest of Men can do, is to chuse those Regulations which are attended with the fewest and least dangerous Inconveniencies, and tend most to the Security and the Happiness of their native Country: When Gentlemen consider in this Light the *Septennial Law* which now exists, and the *Triennial Law* which was for good Reasons repealed, they will, I believe, at all Times, but especially at the present, give the Preference to the former.

Let us, Sir, but consider the present Situation of the Affairs of *Europe*; *Italy* swallowed up by *France* and her Allies; numerous Armies on the *Rhine* threatening to penetrate into the very Bowels of the Empire; our old Allies, the *Dutch*, reduced to the low Ebb of begging a Neutrality from *France*, for their Barrier in *Flanders*: In such a State of foreign Affairs, is it to be imagined, that *Great Britain* can remain quiet, or indulge herself in a State of Ease and Security? No, surely, Sir, we must concert proper Measures to prevent the Balance of Power in *Europe* from being quite overturned: We must look in Time to the Preservation of that Balance
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which has already cost this Nation so much Blood and Treasure; and, at such a Conjunction, ought we to repeal that Law which strengthens his Majesty's Hands, gives Steadiness to his Councils, and adds Weight to his Negotiations with foreign Powers? Or shall we substitute in its Place a Law, which would throw the Nation every 2 or 3 Years into such Distractions and Confusions as Elections are always attended with?

Would not this, Sir, be giving the Enemies of his Majesty's Government at home, in Conjunction with his Enemies abroad, so many Opportunities of distressing his Majesty's Government, of throwing all Things into Confusion, and perhaps of destroying that Establishment, and that Family to which we owe the Preservation of all that is dear to us? God forbid, Sir, that this House should be so much wanting in the Duty they owe to his Majesty, and to their Country, as to do any Thing that might tend to the distressing of his Government, or to the disturbing the Peace of their Country. I hope the House will excuse me for taking up so much of their Time: I could say a great deal more against the Motion now before us, but the Subject has been so much exhausted, and every Argument in Favour of it so fully answered by my worthy Friend under the Gallery, who spoke early in this Debate, that I think I need not now add any Thing farther, but shall most heartily give my Vote against it.

W—in W—m— W—n, Esq; I am surpris'd, Sir, to hear it insinuated by the Hon. Gentleman who spoke last, as if the Motion now before us was made with a View to distress his Majesty's Government, or to disturb the Peace of the Nation. Such an Insinuation is really not treating the Gentlemen, who have spoke in Favour of this Motion, with that Candour which one Gentleman has Reason to expect from another in this House; nor indeed can I look upon it as any Compliment made to his Majesty or his Government. It is not to be doubted but that his Majesty, in all the Measures he pursues, looks a little further than this House: It is not to be question'd but that his Majesty looks for the Approbation of the Generality of his People, as well as the Majority of his Parliament; and while his Measures are approved of by the Generality of his People, frequent Elections cannot surely bring any Distress upon his Government, but will greatly strengthen it, by shewing frequently to his Majesty, and to the whole World, the true Sense of the Generality of the People. As to the Peace of the Nation, we know, by Experience, that it was as well preserved by *Triennial Parliaments*, as ever it was by *Septennial*, so that the agreeing to this Motion cannot disturb the Peace, but

the rejecting of it may very probably have such an Effect; for the Generality of the People so earnestly desire to have *Triennial Parliaments* restored to them, that the refusing to comply with their Desire cannot but encrease the Number of the Disaffected, which may at last throw all Things into Confusion, and may perhaps destroy that Establishment, to which we owe every Thing that is dear to us.

I shall readily grant, Sir, that ever since we have had *Septennial Parliaments*, our Elections have been generally attended with Distractions and Confusions; but I cannot allow that this would be the Case if our Elections were *Annual*, or even *Triennial*: They would then be carried on with much less Heat and Animosity; for every Man knows that the Disturbances about Elections have been much greater since the *Septennial Bill* took Place than ever they were before; and I would gladly ask Gentlemen, if before that Time it was ever known that the Solicitations and Contentions about Elections began 2 Years before the Chusing of a new Parliament, which is known to be the Case at present over the whole Kingdom, and which always must necessarily be the Case, it being natural for Men to contend with more Vigour and Heat for a Post either of Honour or Profit, that is to be enjoyed for 7 Years, than for one that is to be enjoyed but for one, or for three.

Then, Sir, as to Bribery and Corruption at Elections, I am sure it has very much increased since the *Septennial Law* took Place. It is a natural Consequence of lengthening the Time of a Parliament's Continuance; a Consequence so natural that I am surpris'd to find it so much mistaken as it seems to be, by some Gentlemen who have spoke on the other Side of the Question. It is certain, Sir, that Bribery will never be made use of at any Election, but by a Man who has not a sufficient natural Interest in the Place where he declares himself a Candidate; and by such we may expect it will always be made use of, as far as it can be done with Safety, if the Candidate has but the least Hopes of succeeding by such dishonourable Means; where there happens a Competition, every Elector has a natural Bias to vote for one Man rather than another, and every Elector will vote according to his natural Bias, if he is not bought off: Whoever endeavours to buy him off, must certainly come up to his Price, and this Price will be higher or lower, according to the Elector's Honour and Circumstances, and the natural Bias he has for the other Candidate: A great many Men may be perhaps bought off with 100 or 1000 Guineas, who, if half that Sum were offered, would spurn it away with an honest Disdain. I hope, Sir, there are a great many Electors in this Kingdom

dom, whose Honour, upon such Occasions, is above the Power of any such corrupt Temptations, but that there are likewise a great many who may be bought, is a Fact which, I believe, no Gentleman in this House will dispute; and in this View let us examine the Difference between *Triennial* and *Septennial* Parliaments.

Give me Leave then to suppose two Gentlemen set up in Opposition to each other, for representing one of our little Boroughs in Parliament; one of them a Country Gentleman, of a great natural Interest in the Place, the other a Citizen of *London*, or a Place-Man, not near equal to him in Interest, but depending entirely upon the Money he is able to lay out: Suppose the Citizen, or Place-Man, comes to a Calculation, and finds that it will cost him at least 3000*l.* to buy the Country Gentleman out of his Interest in that Borough; if the Parliament were to continue but for 3 Years, he would, very probably, resolve not to be at such an Expence, and so would refrain of being-guilty of the Crime of corrupting his Countrymen; but when the Parliament is to continue for 7 Years, he may as probably resolve to be at that Charge: Thus by Corruption he may get a Seat in this House, and it is to be feared, that he who comes in here by Corruption, will not walk out with clean Hands.

Gentlemen are very much mistaken if they imagine, that the Price of an Elector depends upon the Duration of a Parliament, or that a Man who sells his Vote for a 100 Guineas at an Election of a *Septennial* Parliament, would sell his Vote for the Half of that Sum, if the Parliament to be chosen were to continue only for three Years. No, Sir, there are very few of this Sort of Electors, who think of Futurity; the present Offer is the Temptation, and the only Temptation that can be of any Weight with them: Besides, they cannot depend upon having the like Offer made them at the next Election; and 50 Guineas ready Money, with an uncertain Hope of having 50 more three Years hence, is not surely so great a Price as 100 Guineas ready down: The natural Interest of the Country Gentlemen, and the Honour of the Electors, are what the Dealers in Corruption have to contend with, and against these a small Price cannot be so prevalent as one a little higher; some may, perhaps, be corrupted by a small Price, but certainly the higher it is, the greater will the Numbers be that are tempted to yield to it; and as a Man may give a higher Price at the Election for a *Septennial* Parliament, than he can do at one for an *Annual* or *Triennial*, therefore the greater the Numbers will be of those who yield to his Temptation, the more he may depend upon Corruption; and the more it is to be depended on, the more general and frequent will it certainly be. From hence it appears

evident, that the Increase of Bribery and Corruption is as natural a Consequence of *Septennial* Parliaments, as any one Thing can be conceived to be the Consequence of another.

There is no Way, Sir, of effectually preventing Corruption but by putting it out of the Power of any Man to corrupt: There is no corrupting any Man but by coming up to his Price; therefore the only Way of putting it out of the Power of any Man to corrupt, is to put it out of the Power of any Man to come up to the Price of any Number of Electors; and this can only be done by making our Elections frequent: The more frequent the better. It is certain, a Gentleman who enjoys a good Pension for seven Years, is more able to give a high Price than if he had enjoyed that Pension but for one Year, or even for three; and he will more willingly give a high Price, when he is thereby to purchase the Continuance of that Pension for 7 Years, than when he is to purchase it only for one or for 3 Years. This, Sir, is so evident, that I am astonished to hear it controverted within these Walls.

If our Parliaments were *Annual*, it would be impossible for Place-Men or Pensioners to save as much yearly as would be sufficient to bribe Country Gentlemen out of their Interest, and the Electors out of their Honesty; which I am afraid is a Practice now too frequent in many Parts of this Kingdom: How can it otherwise be imagined that the People would chuse Persons they never saw, Persons they perhaps never heard of, in Opposition to Gentlemen who live in the Neighbourhood, Gentlemen who give them daily Employment, by buying in their Shops and Markets all the Manufactures and Provisions they have Use for in their Families, and Gentlemen whose Ancestors have, perhaps, often represented that very Place in Parliament with great Honour and universal Approbation? I remember, Sir, I was told by a Gentleman who is now dead, and therefore I may name him, I mean Mr. *Spencer Cooper*, afterwards one of the Judges of the Common Pleas, he told me himself that he had never been in the Borough he represented in Parliament, nor had ever seen or spoke with any of his Electors; and I believe I could, without much Difficulty, name some who are now in the same Situation. Can such, Sir, be called the Representatives of the People, or can it be supposed that they are chosen by Means of that natural Interest by which every Man ought to hold his Seat in this House?

The Parliament, Sir, is the great Council of the Nation, and the Business of this House in particular is to represent to his Majesty the Grievances of the People, to inform him if any of his Ministers or Officers make an ill Use of the Power he delegates to them, and to impeach and prosecute such evil Ministers.

Now I would be glad to know who are the most proper Representatives for these Purposes, Gentlemen who have large Properties in the Country, who are independent of the Ministers and Officers of the Crown, and who by living in the Country are perfectly acquainted with the Circumstances of the People; or Gentlemen who for their chief Support depend upon the Ministers and Officers of the Crown, who know nothing of those they represent, and are not only ignorant of their true Interests, but are really indifferent about their Welfare. I hope it will not be controverted, but that the first Sort of Gentlemen are the most proper Representatives of the People; and if so, *Annual or Triennial Parliaments* are better than *Septennial*, because there is a greater Probability of their being chiefly composed of such Gentlemen.

As Bribery and Corruption, therefore, is a natural Consequence of long Parliaments, as it must always increase in Proportion as the Term for the Parliament's Continuance is prolonged, I am persuaded that all those who are against Bribery and Corruption will join with me in voting for the Reinstitution of *Triennial Parliaments*. It is not the Expence of an Election that Country Gentlemen are to be afraid of; the most extravagant Entertainments that a Stranger in the Country could give, would have but little Weight, if to these he did not add downright Bribery; and even those Bribes must be so high as to overbalance the natural Interest of the Country Gentleman, as well as the Honesty of the greatest Part of the Electors: As these Bribes cannot be made so high for a *Triennial Parliament*, as they may be for a *Septennial*, they cannot be so prevalent among the Electors; and therefore a Gentleman, who depends upon nothing but his natural Interest, will always have a better Lay for representing his Country in a *Triennial Parliament*, than he can have for representing it in one which is to continue for 7 Years; for which Reason I cannot but think that every Gentleman who has a Mind that his Posterity shall depend for their Seats in Parliament, upon the natural Interest they may have in their respective Countries, and not upon the Frowns or the Favours of the Minister for the Time being, must necessarily be for our returning to our former Constitution in this Respect. This, Sir, is, in my Opinion, absolutely necessary, and it must be soon done, otherwise Country Gentlemen, tired out with contending against those who purchase their Elections, perhaps with the very Money which Country Gentlemen are obliged to pay out of their Estates in publick Duties and Taxes, will at last have nothing to do but to sit down and bemoan the Fate of the Country; but their Complaints will then be to very little Purpose, for the Doors of that Place, where the Groans of the People ought to be

heard, will then be shut against them; we may depend on it that those, who obtain their Seats in this House by Ministerial Influence, will, while here, be directed in all their Proceedings by the same Sort of Influence, and by none other.

To conclude, Sir, I am very certain there is nothing would be more agreeable to the People in general than the Repeal of the *Septennial Law*, and therefore I, as one of the Representatives of the People chosen without Bribery or Corruption, and as one who has nothing to consider but the Interest of those I represent, shall most readily give my Vote in Favour of the Motion.

Mr. A—ey G—l. I have given all possible Attention to what has been said by Gentlemen on both Sides of this Question; and I must confess, Sir, I cannot yet see any Manner of Reason for agreeing to the Motion. Gentlemen have been pleased to put us in mind of our ancient Constitution; but it has been so often varied and altered, that it would be found very difficult to fix upon a Time when it was such as we ought or would desire to return to: And if any Time is to be fixed on, we are not surely to take the Time when our Constitution was weak and in its Infancy, we are certainly to chuse that Time when it was come to its full Strength and Vigour, which, in my Opinion, is the present; but as Gentlemen have mentioned the Claim of Rights, let us examine how it stood at that Time, for I am persuaded it will be agreed to by every Gentleman in this House, that after that Claim was settled and confirmed, our Constitution was more vigorous than it ever was before that Time; and yet even in our Claim of Rights there is no Mention made of frequent new Parliaments: It is indeed said, that for Redress of Grievances, and for amending, strengthening and preserving the Laws, Parliaments ought to be held frequently; but it is not so much as insinuated that every one of these Parliaments ought to be a new Parliament; and as to the Frequency of Parliaments, I am sure there never was less Reason for Complaint than since the *Septennial Bill* passed; for ever since that Time the Sessions have been regularly held, and all of them have been allowed to sit as long as it was necessary or proper they should.

But, Sir, even by the Claim of Rights our Constitution was not so well regulated or established as it is at present: It was still left in the Power of the King to continue a Parliament as long as he pleased, and this certainly might have become a Grievance upon the People. This Oversight the whole Nation were sensible of, and this they were willing to obviate; but in all such Cases People generally run from one Extreme to another; the Passions of Men are something like a Pendulum, if they are raised too high on one Side, they

always rise too high on the other ; it requires Time before they come to settle in the Equilibrium of Reason. This was the very Case with Respect to the *Triennial Bill*, which was passed in the Reign of K. *William*: The Passions of the People were raised high against the unlimited Prerogative of the Crown, in continuing a Parliament as long as the King had a Mind ; this the Enemies of the Government took hold of, in order to introduce a Law by which the Prerogative was in this Respect limited too much ; for it is well known that the *Triennial Act* was neither introduced nor promoted by the Patrons of Liberty, or the real Friends to that King's Government ; it was by those who meant to distress the Measures of that good Prince, to whom their native Country, nay even they themselves, stood so much indebted : They at last prevailed, they got that Law passed, which after a long Experience was found to be of dangerous Consequence to the Peace of the Nation, and to the Quiet of the Subject ; and therefore the *Septennial Bill* was agreed to, which is a most reasonable Mean between the one Extreme of leaving the Prerogative of the Crown in this Respect unlimited, and the other Extreme of limiting this Prerogative too much, by laying the Crown under a Necessity of calling a new Parliament once in three Years, whether it be consistent with the Peace and Security of the Nation or not : From whence, Sir, I think I have good Reason to be of Opinion, that our Constitution is now in its utmost Perfection. I was indeed glad to hear Encomiums bestowed by an Hon. Gentleman upon the late K. *William*, because such seldom come from the Corner of the House where he sits ; but if that glorious King had been limited to *Septennial Parliaments* only, and not to *Triennial*, the future Happiness of this Nation would have been better secured, and more firmly established by him ; he would not have been obliged to have put an End to the War so soon as he did, or to have agreed to those Treaties which were afterwards so loudly complained of ; the Continuance of the War but for a very few Years, might have reduced the Power of *France* so low as to have rendered them utterly unable to have made a Conquest of *Spain*, and thereby the heavy War which ensued, and which cost this Nation so much Blood and Treasure, would have been effectually prevented.

Gentlemen have been pleased, Sir, to mention frequently to us the Prerogative of the Crown, and to talk of its being grown up to a great Height ; but can any Gentleman say, that his present Majesty, or the late King his Father, ever made the least Attempt to the Prejudice of the People's Rights, or ever endeavoured to extend any Branch of the Prerogative beyond the Bounds prescribed to it by Law ; and I hope no Gentleman will say,

that the Prerogative, as now limited and established, can be dangerous ; for while our happy Constitution is preserved, the monarchical Part of it must be endowed with some Powers and Prerogatives ; it must have at least those which are necessary to support itself against Faction, and to preserve that Influence it ought by Law to have in the Government of this Kingdom. And as for the Influence which, as has been supposed, the Crown may acquire over long Parliaments, it has already had a very proper Answer from both the Gentlemen who spoke first against this Motion ; for it is very certain, that the long Parliament in K. *Charles* II'd's Reign, which has been called the *Pensionary Parliament*, became towards the End so very little subject to the Influence of the Crown, that they did all they could to secure the Liberties of the People against the Schemes which were then forming by the Court, and became so strenuous in their Endeavours this Way, that the King was at last obliged to dissolve them : This shews, that the Length of a Parliament rather diminishes than increases the Influence of the Crown ; and the History of every Parliament since that Time confirms this Observation.

We have been told, that we always ought to have a Dependence on those we represent, and that in long Parliaments this Dependence may probably be thrown off ; which could never be the Case if Parliaments were *Annual*. That we have all a Dependence on the People for our Election, is what, Sir, I shall readily grant ; but after we are chosen, and have taken our Seats in this House, we have no longer any Dependence on our Electors, at least in so far as regards our Behaviour here : Their whole Power is then devolved upon us, and we are in every Question that comes before this House, to regard only the publick Good in general, and to determine according to our own Judgments : If we do not, if we are to depend upon our Representatives, and to follow blindly the Instructions they send us, we cannot be said to act freely, nor can such Parliaments be called free Parliaments : Such a Dependence would be a most dangerous Dependence : It would, in my Opinion, be more dangerous, and of worse Consequence than a Dependence upon the Crown ; for in a Dependence on the Crown, I can see no Danger as long as the Interest of the Crown is made the same with that of the People, which every Man must allow to be the Case at present ; whereas the People of any County, City, or Borough are very liable to be misled, and may often be induced to give Instructions directly contrary to the Interest of their Country.

Bribery and Corruption, Sir, are two hideous Words, and are often set in the most terrible Light. I have, 'tis true, as terrible an Idea of such Practices as any Gentleman in this House ; but I cannot think we are in any pre-

present Danger from such : Our Constitution is so happily formed, that it is almost impossible to overthrow it by such Practices ; for before such a Thing can be done, the Generality of the People must be corrupted ; nay they must be so far corrupted as to be ready to sell themselves for a small Price ; for if they insist on a high one there cannot be a Purchaser : This is a Case which I hope never will happen, but if ever it should, I cannot see how our Constitution could be more safe with a *Triennial* than with a *Septennial Parliament* ; for I am persuaded that if a Man will sell his Vote either in Parliament, or at Elections, for 1000 or 100 Guineas, he will sell it for half that Sum, when he finds he can get no more : Whatever is once brought to Market, is generally sold for the Market Price ; and we find that the more frequently a Thing is sold, the lower it falls in its Price, the more contemptible it becomes. People usually suppose that Corruption is only of one Sort ; but this, Sir, is a Mistake, it appears in many Shapes ; a Man may be bribed without giving him Money ; and even Members of this House may be bribed without getting any Place or Preferment from the Government : If any Gentleman, to please his Borough, and to secure his next Election, should act contrary to his own Judgment, it is as downright Bribery as if he had got a Pension, a Place or Preferment from the Court ; and I look upon this as one of the very worst Sorts of Corruption.

Gentlemen have told us, that *Septennial Parliaments* are attended with many Inconveniences, but they have not been so good as to shew us any of them, or at least in so far as I have yet heard ; we have had the Experience of such Parliaments for above these 18 Years, and yet I do not find that they have pretended to shew any one Inconvenience which has arisen from them in all that Time ; from whence I must presume, that it is not in their Power ; and I believe it cannot be shewn that so many good Laws have passed in any such Number of Years, as have been passed since *Septennial Parliaments* took place : I am sure it cannot be shewn, that any one Law has been passed by any of our *Septennial Parliaments*, that incroached upon the Rights of the People, or that was attended with an Inconvenience, or was looked on by the Generality of the People as a Grievance. If ever there were any such, I must desire that the Gentlemen of the other Side of the Question would point them out to us.

But, Sir, I could shew many Inconveniences that would certainly ensue from *Triennial* or *Annual Parliaments* : The whole Nation would be kept in a continual Ferment : The Feuds and Divisions which by every Election are raised among Neighbours in the Country would be continually kept up : The Country Gentlemen would be entirely ruined by the Expence of frequent Elections, and an annual

Attendance upon this House with Multitudes of Witnesses, about those that might be contested ; and a vast Encouragement would be given to Drunkenness and Idleness among all Ranks of Men : We know, when working People have been habituated but for a few Days to Drunkenness and Idleness, how hard it is to bring them back to their Labour and Industry ; from whence we must conclude, that such frequent Elections would be a great Prejudice to our Husbandry, to our Manufactures, and to all Sorts of Improvements ; for the Drinking and Feasting about one Election would hardly be over when that for the next would begin : All these and many worse would be the certain Consequences of *Triennial* or *Annual Elections* ; whereas when Elections return but once in 7 Years, the Feuds and Divisions among Neighbours, and the Ferment the Nation is put into, have Time to subside ; the labouring People have Time to cool and return to their Labour ; and the Country Gentlemen may easily bear the Expence of Elections, because they have six Years to recruit, and to lay in a Stock for that Purpose.

An Hon. Gentleman spoke of *Septennial Parliaments* as necessary to support falling Ministers : How a *Septennial* can be more proper for this Purpose than a *Triennial* I cannot really comprehend ; but whatever may be in this, I am sure it is not the Case at present ; for I have been of late in as many Counties and Corporations as any Gentleman, I believe, in this House ; and notwithstanding all the Arts that have been practised, and all the Industry that has been used to give the People a bad Impression of the present Administration, I found the People in every Place I passed thro', generally well inclined towards it ; and the present Parliament, tho' a *Septennial* one, stands so firmly in the Esteem and Affections of the People, that I dare say we shall see the greatest Part of the Gentlemen now in this House re-chosen.

Upon the Whole, Sir, as no Gentleman can, I think, shew me any Inconvenience attending *Septennial Parliaments* but what is imaginary ; as a great many dangerous Inconveniences always have attended, and always must attend *Triennial Parliaments* ; and as I am convinced that the Nation in general is very far from desiring a Repeal of the *Septennial Law*, I am entirely against the Question.

W——r P——m——r, Esq; I own, Sir, I am not a little astonished at the Doctrine laid down by the Hon. and learned Gentleman who spoke last : That after we are chosen we are to give no Attention to our Constituents, that we are then to throw aside all Dependence upon them, is a Doctrine I never before heard in this House ; and I am the more surpris'd to hear it come from that learned Gentleman, because some of our principal Law Books tell us, that in ancient Times this

this House has often refused to agree to Propositions made by the Court; for this Reason only, that they could not agree to any such new Proposition, till they went home and consulted with their Constituents. For my own Part, Sir, I shall always give the greatest Attention to the Sentiments of those I represent; I shall always have a great Regard for their Interests, and shall never think there is any Danger in having a Dependence upon them.

The learned Gentleman asked us, If the Prerogative of the Crown had been extended beyond its due Bounds by his late or his present Majesty? Sir, I do not say it has: It is a Question cannot properly be answered, nor have I heard any such Thing so much as insinuated in this Debate: But I wish we would take an Example from the Crown in one Thing: We may observe that the Crown never gives a Place or Employment for Life, or for a long Term of Years, except such as cannot be otherwise disposed of; and the Reason is plain: Were these Places given for Life, the Grantee would then be out of the Power of the Crown, and consequently would not have such a Dependence on the Crown, as those Persons must have who enjoy their Places during Pleasure only: In this the Crown acts wisely; and I wish we would follow the Example: When I say we, I speak of the Gentlemen present not as Members of this House, but as a Part of the People of Great Britain: It would certainly be the Height of Wisdom in the People, to keep those they trust and employ in their Service as much in their Power as possible: If those the People chose to represent them in this House, were to continue in that Station only during the Pleasure of the People, the Representatives would, I believe, have a proper Regard for the Interests of the People, and would never think of throwing off all Dependence upon them. As this would, in my Opinion, be a wise Step in the People, therefore I must be for agreeing to every Thing that may tend this Way; for this Reason I cannot but be for the present Motion; nay, if *Annual Parliaments* had been moved for, I should have been for the Question.

Another Gentleman over the Way mentioned to us the present Situation of *Europe*; and asked us, If we were to sit still, and take no Part? This, Sir, is a Question that might be answered, if they would let us into the Secret: so far as to know what is the present Situation of *Europe* with respect to ourselves; but this they do not seem inclined to do: However, without such an Insight, I think I may say, that we ought to mind our own Business, and take proper Care of the Interests of *Great Britain*; but that we are not to enter headlong into every *German Quarrel* that happens beyond Seas. This may be a very

proper Question, and probably will come to be a Question in the first Session of the next Parliament: In which Case I hope those who have it in their Power, will lay every Thing before this House, that may be necessary for giving a proper Answer to such an important Question; but how the Members of next Parliament, by being chosen for seven Years, should have in the very first Session more Knowledge, more Wisdom, or more Integrity, in the determining of this Question, than if they had been chosen only for three, is what, I must confess, I cannot comprehend.

The learned Gentleman was so good as to tell us, that we had all, or most of us, by our Behaviour in this Parliament, established our Characters so firmly among the People, that most of us will be chosen again; if so, it is to be hoped we will behave as well in the next, and then as many of us as are alive may expect to be chosen a third Time; and if we behave ill, I hope no Gentleman will say we ought to continue even for one Year, much less for seven, in the Station we are in, whether our Representatives will or no. This, Sir, is as proper an Answer as can be made to the principal Argument urged against frequent Elections; which was, that they would distress his Majesty's Government, and render the Measures of his Administration unsteady; for if the same Members be upon a new Election generally returned as long as they behave well, surely even an *Annual Election* could never distress his Majesty's Government, nor render his Ministers unsteady in the Measures they pursue, at least as long as the Members behave well in Parliament; and I hope no King will, I am sure his Majesty never will, and I hope no Minister ever can depend upon the ill Behaviour of the Members of Parliament for the Support of his Government, or for the Support of the Measures he pursues: I say, I hope this Case never will happen; but lest it should, the best Way to guard against it is to have frequent Elections; and therefore I am for the Question.

Sir *W—m L—r*. There is one Reason, Sir, which chiefly prevails with me to be against your Question: It has been said, that the principal Motive for introducing *Septennial Parliaments* now no longer exists; but this I can by no Means agree with, because I am sure the Number of *Papists* has greatly increased even since the *Septennial Law* took place: And as a true Regard for our own Religion has in the same Time very much decreased, I am afraid the *Papish Interest* will daily gain more and more upon us; and the Transition from *Papery* to *Jacobitism* we know to be short and certain.

Besides, Sir, there has lately been published in our Weekly Papers an Essay upon Parties; (See p. 15, 25, 32. and Vol. II. p. 517, 556, 564, 570, 610, 625, 630.) who is the

Author of it I do not know, but I have read it, and I think it is the most Jesuitical Performance I ever saw: It could, in my Opinion, be wrote with no other View but to raise Discontents and Jealousies, and to increase the Disaffection to his Majesty's Government; and therefore I cannot be for repealing a Law which greatly strengthens that Government against all such Attempts.

G—les C—ey, Esq; I do not stand up, Sir, to enter into your Debate, but only to take Notice of what was said by the Gentleman who spoke last. I do not know whether the Number of *Papists* be increased since the Time he mentions or not; but I would gladly know from him, which Side in the Elections the *Papists* favour most in that Part of the Country where he lives? For I can affirm, that in all the Parts of *England* which I know, they generally make use of all their Interest in Favour of those Candidates who are recommended by the Ministers: What may be their Reason for such an odd Sort of Conduct I cannot pretend to determine; for surely they do not imagine that the only Game they have to play against his Majesty's Government is to support his Ministers.

G—ge H—te, Esq; I was very much inclined, Sir, to give my Vote for the Question when it was first moved; but now I am more firmly of that Opinion, after what I have heard from the two Hon. Gentlemen who spoke last; for if *Papery* has gained so great Ground in this Nation, since the passing of the *Septennial Law*; and if the *Papists* be in general such Friends to our Ministers, I do not know but in next Parliament many *Papists* may have Seats in this House; and as some of our Ministers have been of late very changeable in their Politicks, I do not know but they may take it in in their Heads to change their Religion too; therefore, for Fear of our having a *Papish* Parliament, and some *Papish* Ministers, I am for repealing the *Septennial Law*, in order to prevent their having Time to do a great deal of Mischief.

Sir J—n H—de C—n. Sir, as to all the Parts of *England* I know, I can affirm the Truth of what my worthy Friend by me has said. The *Papists* are in general making use of all their Interest in Favour of those Candidates who are recommended by the Ministers; and an Hon. Gentleman on the Floor, who I believe has no small Share in the present Administration, knows that one of that Religion, who is a Gentleman of one of the best and most antient Families in the County of *Norfolk*, and a Gentleman of one of the best Estates in it, is now riding about the Country, soliciting Votes for his Friends who are Candidates for the County, or for any City or Borough within the County; so that if there has been of late an Increase of *Papery*,

it cannot be said that the Interest of the Ministers is thereby weakened; but as to his Majesty's Government, I dare say it cannot be much strengthened by the Addition of such Friends.

An Hon. and learned Gentleman over the Way was pleased to ask us, Sir, If his late or present Majesty had ever made any Attempt to the Prejudice of the Rights of the People, or had endeavoured to extend any Branch of the Prerogative beyond its legal Bounds? To this Question, Sir, I shall not answer one Word, because I know the Gentleman's Office; but I shall answer another Question ask'd by the same Gentleman: He ask'd us, if I remember right, Whether any Law was ever passed by a *Septennial Parliament* that inroached upon the Liberties of the People, or that was attended with an Inconvenience, or was look'd on by the Generality of the People as a Grievance? As to the first Part of this Question, I must really, Sir, look upon the *Septennial Law* itself as some Sort of Inroachment upon the Rights of the People; and that Law, I think, was passed by a Parliament which made itself *Septennial*: But farther, Sir, were not the Laws of Treason, as to Trials, altered by a *Septennial Parliament*, or at least one which made itself so? That Law which had remained unaltered in all the Contests, and the long Wars that happened between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, was altered on a trifling Insurrection in some of the Northern Parts of this Kingdom: Formerly every Man was to be tried by a Jury of his honest Neighbours, within the County where the Crimes alledged against him were said to have been committed; but the *Septennial Parliament* ordered him to be carried away and tried in any County where the Crown, or rather the Minister, could find a Jury proper for their Purpose; and where the Prisoner might not perhaps be able to bring any Witnesses in his own Justification, it might at least have been impossible for him to bring any without a great Expence. And yet farther, Sir, was not the Riot Act passed by a *Septennial Parliament*; and is this no Inroachment upon the Rights of the People? Is it no Grievance that a little dirty Justice of the Peace, the meanest and vilest Tool a Minister can make use of, a Tool who, perhaps, subsists by his being in the Commission, and who may be turned out of that Subsistence whenever the Minister pleases; is this, I say, no Grievance that such a Tool should have it in his Power, by reading a Proclamation, to put perhaps 20 or 30 of the best Subjects in *England* to immediate Death, without any Trial or Form of Law? This Law, Sir, and several others I could name, have been passed by *Septennial Parliaments*; to which, because they stand yet unrepealed, I shall not give the Names I think they deserve.

But,

But, Sir, to ask whether any Laws have been passed by *Septennial Parliaments*, which have been attended with Inconveniencies, or have been complained of as a Grievance, is a Question I am surprized to hear come from a Gentleman learned in the Laws. Was not the fatal *South Sea Scheme*, in the Year 1720, established by an Act of a *Septennial Parliament*, and can any Man ask whether that Law was attended with any Inconvenience? It was, Sir, the most scandalous Act that ever was passed by any Parliament; if *Triennial Parliaments* had then been in Being, I am persuaded it would never have passed, or if it had, I am very sure, the chief Promoters of it would have suffered a very different Fate from what they did; and did not the same Parliament pass some Clauses in an Act for hindring the Spreading of the Plague, that were look'd upon by the Generality of the People as so great a Grievance, and were so loudly complained of by all Ranks of People in the Nation, that it was thought proper to repeal them in the very next Session of Parliament?

To the glorious Catalogue I have mentioned of Laws passed by *Septennial Parliaments*, we might have added the late Excise Bill, if it had passed into a Law, but thank God, the *Septennial Parliament* was near expiring before that famous Bill was introduced. To this glorious Catalogue I could add, Sir, not a few others; but I will stop here, till I have heard the Laws I have mentioned justified by those who seem to be so much in love with *Septennial Parliaments*; and if they can justify all that has been done by such Parliaments, I now promise most solemnly to be of their Opinion; but till then I hope they will excuse me, in being for the Repeal of a Law, which in my Opinion has never done any Good, which has produced a great deal of Mischief, and which, I am much afraid, will quite overturn our Constitution, if it continues for any Time unrepealed.

Sir J—n B—rn—d. I am a good deal surpris'd, Sir, to find that none of those Gentlemen who usually have a great Share in our Debates, seem inclin'd to take any Share in this: I hope they will allow it to be a Question of some Consequence to their Country, and if it should be carried in the Affirmative, some of them may perhaps find it a Question of some Consequence to themselves. I will venture to say, that I have not heard a Question better supported on one Side, and less said against it on the other, by the Gentlemen who have already spoken, since I sat in Parliament; and I now stand up, not that I think any Thing needful to be added to what has been said in Support of it, but that I cannot think of letting a Question go, in the Success of which I think the Happiness of my Country

so deeply concerned, without my joining with other Gentlemen in shewing all the Regard for it that lies in my Power.

An Hon. and learned Gentleman has indeed advanced a Doctrine which I think altogether new; That we are to have no further Dependence on our Electors after we have taken our Seats in this House; nay, that a Dependence on them would be more dangerous than a Dependence on the Crown: This, Sir, is really, in my Opinion, something very new; tho' that Gentleman may perhaps like the one better than the other, yet I shall always look upon a Dependence on the People of *England*, or even upon those I represent, to be less dangerous and more honourable, than a Dependence on the Crown; and I value myself more on the Honour I have had of sitting here for two Parliaments, as one of the Representatives of the People of *England*, and by the free and uncorrupted Choice of those I represent, than I should do on the greatest Honours the Crown can bestow. Indeed if I had obtained my Seat here by Bribery, or the illegal and corrupt Influence of any great Minister, I should look on it in a very different Light; I should look on it as one of the most disgraceful Stations I could be in.

It has been affirmed by several Gentlemen, who have spoken on the other Side of the Question, that the longer Parliaments continued the less Influence the Crown had upon them; and for a Proof of this they have instanced the long Parliament in *K. Charles II's* Reign. The same Gentlemen have likewise asserted, that *Triennial Parliaments* would distress his Majesty's Government: How these two Assertions are compatible I leave to the Gentlemen themselves to explain; for to me it appears impossible that both can be true; because if the Crown has always the less Influence in a Parliament the longer it continues, surely the shortning the Time of its Duration cannot distress any King's Government. But as to the long Parliament in *King Charles's* Time, tho' they did not towards the End shew the same servile Compliance they had done for many Years before, yet it is plain that the Crown thought that Parliament fitter for the Purposes of the Court at that Time, than they could expect any new Parliament chosen by the People to be; otherwise, as the King had it in his Power, he would certainly have dissolved them much sooner: And if that long Parliament really deserved the Name usually given to it, we must conclude, that their Non-compliance at last was not owing to their Virtue, or a Want of Inclination to receive, but to a Want of Power in the Crown to give. The People were not then accus'd to bear such heavy Burdens, as they do at present; the Revenues of the Crown were not so large, nor the Posts and Places at the Disposal of the Crown

Crown so numerous; there was not such a numerous standing Army to support the Parliament, in case they had gone on in the same servile Method: And as the Complaints of the People grew loud and clamorous; as there was little to be got, and a great deal to be apprehended, by the Continuance of a servile Compliance, it is very probable that these were the true Reasons of that Parliament's becoming at last so restive: And if the Nation was now in the same State it was at that Time, I should not be half so much afraid of *Septennial Parliaments* as I think I have now good Reason to be.

The Animosities, Disputes and Divisions about Elections, have been set in the most dreadful Light, and have been represented as so great an Inconvenience, that we ought to run the Risk of having our Constitution overturned, rather than submit to it. But, Sir, can it be imagined that there would be the same Contention for a Seat in Parliament which was to continue but for one Year, or even for three, that there is for one which is to continue for seven: The Example of the City of *London* plainly shews us the contrary: As the Common Council Men, and a great many other Officers in the City are chosen annually, I have had Occasion to be often present at these annual Elections, and never could find that they were attended with any great Heats and Animosities, or with any Inconvenience; for after the Election is over, the contending Parties go home, and live in the same Friendship they did before; and I am convinced the Case would be the very same if annual Elections for Members of this House were restored: The same Man might perhaps be continued and rechosen every Year for many Years together, probably without any Dispute or Opposition, but his being liable every Year to be turned out, would be a continual Check upon his Behaviour, and would make him study the Interests of the People, instead of pursuing only some private and selfish Views of his own.

Even as Elections stand at present, there would be no such Contentions, nor any such Heats and Animosities as we hear of, if they were left entirely to Gentlemen who have a natural Interest in the Place: In such Case, if a Candidate found himself defeated by fair Means only, and merely by the superior Interest of his Antagonist, it would not raise his Indignation, it would occasion no Heats or Animosities, he would wait with Patience for a new Opportunity, and in the mean Time would endeavour to recommend himself to his Country by Acts of Hospitality and Benevolence. It is Ministers of State intermeddling in Elections, it is Election Brokers, and such Dealers in Corruption, that occasion all the Heats and Animosities we have; for when a Gentleman of a great natural Interest sees his Electors obliged by

Power, or bribed by Money, to vote against him, perhaps in Favour of an utter Stranger, it cannot but raise his Indignation; it may indeed justly raise his utmost Fury and Revéngé.

It is certain, Sir, that if the People were entirely left to themselves, they would, without much Contention, always chuse those Gentlemen who, by having large Properties of their own, might be reasonably supposed to be such as would take the best Care of the Properties of their fellow Subjects: But if the People should ever begin to see their Representatives making their Seats in Parliament Places of Profit, and bartering their Votes and their Behaviour in Parliament for Posts, Places and Pensions, the People will soon follow the Example of their Representatives, and will insist upon sharing with them in the Profits. Thus, by Degrees, the Minds of the People will be debauched, they will be brought to think, that the selling their Votes at Elections is no Crime, the Representatives who buy their Seats must sell their Votes, and at last all Regard for the publick Good, will be generally laid aside by all Sorts of Men. The only effectual Method, Sir, of preventing this fatal Effect, is to restore annual Elections; for then it would be impossible even for the Treasury itself (if ever the publick Money should come to be so misapplied) to issue yearly, Sums of Money sufficient to get the better of the natural Interest, which Country Gentlemen always have in the Places where they and their Families have perhaps for many Generations resided; the Consequence of which will be, that none but Country Gentlemen, and those who have a natural Interest in the Place, will ever appear as Candidates; and thus neither the Morals of the People will be debauched, nor their Properties plundered, nor their Liberties destroyed by those Election Brokers, and Ministerial Agents, or their Candidates, who never can be employed or set up but for such base Purposes.

As for our Credit abroad, which, it is pretended, *Septennial Parliaments* very much contribute to, I think it is evident that it has been sinking ever since the *Septennial Law* took place; which confirms what was justly observed by an Hon. Gentleman, that the Credit of the Nation among Foreigners does not depend upon the Length or Shortness of our Parliaments, but upon that Correspondence and Confidence which ought always to be kept up between the King and his People. I will not say that this Decay of our Credit abroad has been altogether owing to the *Septennial Law*; but I dare say, if our Parliaments had not been *Septennial*, they would probably before now have enquired into the Conduct of those who have been the Causes of this Decay; and whatever Reasons the Decay of our Credit among Foreigners may have been owing to, it is now come to so low an Ebb, that we

we really seem to have almost none to lose. This, I am sorry to say it, seems to be our Case at present; and as I think nothing can so effectually restore our Credit abroad, as the restoring our Constitution at home, I shall therefore give my Vote for the Question.

Sir *W—m Y—ge*. I can assure you, Sir, I did not sit still because I thought much had been said in this Debate upon one Side of the Question, and nothing upon the other, but because after what has been offered by my worthy Friend under the Gallery, who spoke early in the Debate, and the Hon. and Learned Gentleman who spoke some Time ago against the Question, I thought it might be look'd on as Vanity in me to pretend to add any Thing to what had been said: Indeed I am still of the same Opinion, and should have continued in my Resolution of not giving you any Trouble this Day, had not the Hon. Gentleman over the Way thrown out what I take to be a very uncandid Reflection upon my Hon. and learned Friend.

My learned Friend happen'd to make an Observation, which I still think a very just one; he said, that after we are returned and have taken our Seats in this House, we ought not any longer to have a Dependence upon those we represent. This the Hon. Gentleman laid hold of, he not only called it a new and very extraordinary Doctrine; but he drop'd an Expression such as I think ought not to be made use of in this House: As to the Observation made by my learned Friend, he certainly meant, and I believe almost every Gentleman understood him, that after we have taken our Seats in this House we ought, every one of us, to look upon ourselves as one of the Representatives of the whole Body of the Commons of *England*, and ought not to have any particular Byass for the County, City, or Borough we represent. This, Sir, is so far from being a Doctrine very extraordinary, or altogether new, that I wish every Gentleman in this House would make it a standing Rule for his Conduct; for I cannot help observing, that there are some Gentlemen in the House who on many Occasions confine their Thoughts too much to the particular County, City, or Borough they represent; but surely they must be sensible, that many Things may happen in Parliament which may be for the Interest of the Nation in general, tho' they may not perhaps quadrate so exactly with the particular Interests of *London*, *Bristol*, *Liverpool*, or other like City; and in such a Case the Gentlemen must surely grant, that as Members of this House, they ought to drop not only their Dependence upon, but even their Concern for the particular City they represent, in order to concur with the rest of the Members of this House in what they judge to be for the general Interest of the Nation.

This, Sir, I thought myself obliged to say in Vindication of my learned Friend; but as to the Question itself I shall give you but very little Trouble; for tho' I must do the Gentlemen who introduced this Motion, the Justice to own, that they did it with as much Candour, and in as pretty a Manner as I ever heard any Question introduced in this House, yet all the Arguments they made use of were so fully answered, and the Objections against their Motion stated in so clear a Light, by the two worthy Gentlemen who spoke first against their Motion, that I cannot agree to it; and indeed, as I believe we owe the Happiness of having the present Royal Family upon the Throne, and the Liberty of debating any Question in this House, chiefly to the *Septennial Law*, I shall never agree to the Repeal of that Law, without seeing much stronger Reasons for it than I have hitherto heard offered.

One of the great Inconveniencies said to attend *Septennial Parliaments* is, that they heighten and increase those Heats and Animosities which are usually raised among the People about the Time of Elections; but this I cannot agree to, because it is well known that those Heats and Animosities rose to as great a Height, nay to a much greater, during the Continuance of *Triennial Parliaments* than they ever did since that Time; from whence we may observe, that the Violence of those Heats and Animosities does not depend upon the quick or slow Return of Elections, but upon the Temper of the People at the Time. In every Nation there arises sometimes a general Ferment among the People, sometimes without any visible Cause, and often from Causes in themselves unjust: In this Nation, if an Election for a new Parliament should come on when the Nation is in any such Ferment, the Heats and Animosities at that Time would certainly become extremely violent, nay so violent as to endanger the Peace of the Kingdom; and if we had *Annual* or even *Triennial Parliaments*, no such Ferment could ever happen but what would probably be attended with an Election, by which the Nation might be involved in such frequent Disorders and Confusions, as might at last make us a Prey for some foreign Enemy, which, in my Opinion, is a Danger much more to be apprehended, than any Danger our Constitution can be in from having our Parliaments *Septennial*.

Another Inconvenience is, that *Septennial Parliaments* increase and give Encouragement to Bribery and Corruption. That there is Bribery and Corruption, that there always has been Bribery and Corruption, is a Fact I shall not dispute: But, Sir, that the Increase or Decrease of that Vice depends upon the frequent or the rare Return of Elections, i

what I cannot agree to; for I am convinced it will always depend upon the Virtue of the People in general, and the Humour they happen to be in at the Time. I wish Bribery and Corruption of all Kinds could be prevented; but the Evil I am afraid is inevitable; for notwithstanding the many express Laws against it, and the severe Law made but little while ago for preventing it, yet we find that Methods have been contrived for evading all those Laws, either by giving great Entertainments and great Plenty of Victuals, or by some more secret and corrupt Practices; so that the only Way to prevent the Growth of this Evil, is to preserve the Virtue of the People; and I believe the best Way to preserve the Virtue of the People, is to give them as few Opportunities as possible for being vicious; from whence I must conclude, that for obviating this Inconvenience, *Septennial Parliaments* are better than *Triennial*.

If so many and so great Inconveniences have been felt all over the Nation from *Septennial Parliaments*, if so great Complaints have been made, it is very strange, Sir, that no Attempt has been made, ever since the passing of that Law, for the Repeal of it: But the Time now chosen for making that Attempt, shows plainly with what View it is made: It is now the last Session of a Parliament, a new Election must soon come on, and as this Motion has an Appearance of Popularity among the meaner Sort of Electors, it may be of Service to some Gentlemen at the next Elections: And as to the Contentions about these Elections beginning so early, I do not know by whom they were begun, but I believe they have been set on Foot on purpose to furnish Gentlemen with Arguments in this Day's Debate; and an Hon. Gentleman has accordingly taken hold of it, and has made use of those Contentions so early begun, as an Argument against *Septennial Parliaments*.

Another Hon. Gentleman has given us a glorious Catalogue, as he was pleased to call it, of Laws passed by *Septennial Parliaments*; but I think he ought in a particular Manner to have guarded against putting the Riot Act into that Catalogue, for he knows it was founded on the same Motive with the *Septennial*: It was absolutely necessary for the Safety of the Government, and had it not been for some Executions in *Fleetstreet*, in Consequence of that Act, I am persuaded it would not have been possible to have preserved the Peace of the Kingdom at that Time; and I must say, that it is somewhat very strange to hear Gentlemen arguing against Contentions and Riots at Elections, and at the same Time complaining of that Law which was made for preventing of Riots upon any Occasion. As to the Law for regulating Trials in Cases of Treason, there never was a more

reasonable Law passed in Parliament: Is it not at all Times absolutely inconsistent with the Safety of the Government, nay is it not in itself ridiculous, that Rebels and Traitors should be tried by a Jury of their own Friends and Relations, embarked in the same wicked Designs, and as much disaffected to the Government as the Prisoners at the Bar? Can it be expected that such a Jury will ever find the Prisoners guilty; and therefore when whole Counties had rebelled, what could have been more reasonable than the sending the Rebels of those Counties to be tried in other Counties, where an honest and disinterested Jury might be found, and as that Law was confined to the Rebels then in Custody, or such as should be taken within a short Time after, I am surprized to hear it found Fault with.

We have been told that the Nation in general desires the Repeal of the *Septennial Law*, and that Instructions have been sent up to several Members for that Purpose. As to the Desires of the Nation in general, it is a Fact not easy to be determin'd; I do not know but the Mob, I mean such as have no Business with Elections, may generally desire the Repeal of this Law, because they would then have an Opportunity of getting drunk, committing Riots, and living idly, much oftener than they have at present; but as to all those who have any Right to vote at Elections, I am convinced the Generality of them desire no such Thing. And as for those Instructions that may have been sent up to Members, no Man is ignorant how they are usually obtain'd: I saw a Copy of one of them lately in one of our Evening News-Papers, and by the Style of it I may leave any Gentleman to judge, what Sort of Persons they were who sent it, or rather obtained its being sent. As the Memory of K. William will always, they know, be revered in England, by all those who are attached to the true Interest of their Country, these Instructions take particular Notice, that the *Triennial Law* was passed in the Reign of our great Deliverer, K. William, of glorious and immortal Memory: But does not every Man, who has read the History of his Reign, know, that that Law was promoted by those who were perhaps Friends to the Revolution, but Enemies to the then Administration, co-operating with those who were Enemies to both.

In short, Sir, the *Septennial Law*, as well as the Riot Act, passed for the Safety and Establishment of the present Government; and, as I think in my Conscience, the Repeal of either of them would endanger the Government, I am therefore heartily against your Question.

Sir W——m W——m. Sir, the Hon. Gentleman who spoke last, in vindicating,

as he called it, his learned Friend, threw out a very unfair Reflection upon the Conduct of a worthy Gentleman under the Gallery, whose Behaviour in Parliament I have been a Witness of, and I can say without Flattery, it has been as even and as honourable as the Behaviour of any Gentleman in this House; and if the Hon. Gentleman thinks otherwise, I dare say he is single in his Opinion: He is, I believe, the only Man, either in the House or out of it, who thinks so; I wish the Behaviour of every other Gentleman, I will not say in this, but in former Parliaments, had been as unexceptionable; for if it had, I am very sure we should have had no Occasion for this Day's Debate.

The Observation made by the learned Gentleman, which the Hon. Gentleman took up so much Time to explain, was without Exception; it was just, it was plain, and therefore wanted neither an Explanation nor a Vindication; but, Sir, what the worthy Gentleman under the Gallery, and others as well as he, took Notice of, was an Expression that fell from the learned Gentleman, I dare say, without Design: He said that we were to have no Dependence upon our Constituents; he went further, he said it was a dangerous Dependence; nay he went further still, and said, it was more dangerous than a Dependence on the Crown: This my worthy Friend took Notice of, and with his usual Modesty, called it a new Doctrine. It is, Sir, not only a new Doctrine, but it is the most monstrous, the most slavish Doctrine was ever heard, and such as I hope no Man will ever dare to support within these Walls; I am persuaded, Sir, the learned Gentleman did not mean what the Words he happened to make use of may seem to import; for tho' the People of a County, City, or Borough may be misled, and may be induced to give Instructions contrary to the true Interest of their Country, yet I hope he will allow, that in Times past the Crown has been oftener misled, and consequently we must conclude, that it is more apt to be misled in Time to come, than we can suppose the People to be.

As to the Contests about the next Election, Sir, that they were begun a long while ago, is a certain Fact, but who the Beginners were may not be so certain, or at least not so generally known; and the Hon. Gentleman who spoke last seemed to be ignorant, or indeed rather to mistake who were the Beginners of them; but if he pleases to look about him, he may see one not far distant from him, who, by his Agents, was the first and the principal Beginner of them in most Parts of the Kingdom. To see them begin so soon, is no new Thing, Sir; it is a stale ministerial Artifice; it has been practised ever since Septennial Parliaments took place, and will

be as long as they continue: Ministers of State know well how unequal the Contention is between a Country Gentleman, who has nothing but his own Estate (greatly exhausted by the many Taxes he pays) to depend on, and ministerial Election-Mongers, supplied by Gentlemen in Office, who have for 7 Years been heaping up Money for that Purpose, or perhaps supplied even by the publick Treasury of the Nation; and the sooner this Contention begins, the greater Disadvantage the Country Gentlemen labour under, the more Time those Tools of Corruption have to practise upon the Electors, and to discover where that Money may be placed to the best Advantage, which is issued for corrupting the People, and overturning the Constitution: From hence it is obvious who have been, and who will always be the first Beginners of such Contentions.

The learned Gentleman (as well as some others, particularly an Hon. Gentleman under the Gallery, who spoke early in the Debate, and who indeed said as much, and in as handsome a Manner as can, in my Opinion, be said against the Question) has told us, that our Constitution has been often varied; and that there was no Time when it was such as we ought, or would desire, to return to. Sir, it is not to be doubted but our Constitution has often varied, and perhaps there is no Time when it was without a Fault; but I will affirm, there is no Time in which we may not find some good Things in our Constitution: There are now, there have been in every Century some good Laws existing: Let us preserve those that are good; if any of them have been abolished, let them be restored; and if any of the Laws now in being are found to be attended with Inconveniencies, let them be repealed: This is what is now desired, this is what the People have Reason to expect from Parliament; there is nothing now desired but what the People have a Right to; they have now, they always had a Right to frequent new Parliaments; and this Right was established and confirmed even by the Claim of Rights, notwithstanding what the learned Gentleman has said to the contrary. At the Time of the Revolution, nay at the present Time, at all Times, the Word Parliament, in the common Way of Speaking, comprehends all the Sessions held from one Election to another: That this is the common Meaning of the Word I appeal to every Gentleman in this House; and for this Reason those Patriots, who drew up our Claim of Rights, could not imagine that it was necessary to put in the Word *New*: They could not so much as dream that the two Words, *Frequent Parliaments*, would afterwards be interpreted to mean, *Frequent Sessions of Parliament*; but the Lawyers, who are accustomed to confound the Sense of the

the plainest Words, immediately found out, that a Session of Parliament was a Parliament, and that therefore the Words *Frequent Parliaments*, meant only *Frequent Sessions*: This Quirk the Lawyers found out immediately after the Revolution; this Quirk the Courtiers at that Time caught hold of; and this set the People anew upon the Vindication of their Rights, which they obtained by the *Triennial Bill*: By that Bill the Right of the People to frequent new Parliaments, was established in such clear Terms as not to be misunderstood; and God forgive them who consented to the giving it up.

I am extremely surprized, Sir, to hear it said, that the *Triennial Bill* was introduced by the Enemies to the Revolution. I will not say that it was introduced by the Courtiers at that Time: We seldom see such Bills introduced by such Gentlemen; but does not every one know, that it was my Lord Somers who was the chief Promoter of that Bill, and that most of those who supported him in it were Gentlemen who had been deeply concerned in bringing about the Revolution? 'Tis true, the Courtiers opposed it, and even K. William himself, by the Advice of some wicked Ministers, refused to pass it the first Time it was offered; but when it came back again to him he was better advised; and if he had not passed it, he had not done what he ought to do, he had not done all he came to do, nor that which when he came he promised to do, which was to restore the People to the full Enjoyment of all their Rights and Privileges.

To pretend, Sir, that the *Triennial Bill* was introduced with a View of distressing K. William's Government, is really casting a Reflection upon his Government; for to tell us, that the People's claiming those Rights, which he came to establish, was a distressing of his Government, is to tell us, that his Government was contrary to the Rights of the People, which is, in my Opinion, a very high Reflection, and such a one as the Gentlemen, who tell us so, would not patiently hear cast upon that Reign by others. The other Pretence, that *Triennial Parliaments* were the Cause of his putting an End to the War, or of that Treaty which was so much complained of, is, I am sure, as groundless; for the second War was begun and carried on with great Success, under the Influence of *Triennial Parliaments*, till the Balance of Power was fully restored, and so firmly established, that France has never since endeavoured to make the least Incroachment upon any of her Neighbours: What some late Measures may encourage her to do hereafter, I shall not pretend to determine; but this Nation has ever since that Time enjoyed what I think I may call a profound Tranquillity, which, if the *Triennial Law* had remained in Force, we would, I believe, have made a much

better Use of, than we now seem to have done.

The learned Gentleman has told us, that the *Septennial Law* is a proper Medium between the unlimited Power of the Crown, and the limiting that Power too much; but, Sir, before he had fixed on this as a Medium, he should first have discovered to us the two Extremes. I will readily allow, that an unlimited Power in the Crown, with respect to the continuing of Parliaments, is one Extreme; but the other I cannot really find out; for I am very far from thinking, that the Power of the Crown was too much limited by the *Triennial Law*, or that the Happiness of the Nation was any way injured by it, or can ever be injured by frequent Elections. As to the Power of the Crown, it is certain, that as long as the Administration of publick Affairs is agreeable to the Generality of the People, were they to chuse a new Parliament every Year, they would chuse such Representatives as would most heartily concur in every Thing with such an Administration; so that even an *Annual Parliament* could not be any Limitation of the just Power of the Crown; and as to the Happiness of the Nation, it is certain, that Gentlemen will always contend with more Heat and Animosity about being Members of a long Parliament, than about being Members of a short one; and therefore the Elections for a *Septennial Parliament* must always disturb the Peace, and injure the Happiness of the Nation, more than the Elections for an *Annual* or *Triennial Parliament*: Of this the Elections in the City of London, mentioned by my worthy Friend, are an evident Demonstration.

As to the Elections coming on when the Nation is in a Ferment, it is so far from being an Objection to frequent Elections, that it is, in my Opinion, a strong Argument in Favour of them; because it is one of the chief Supports of the Freedom of the Nation. It is plain, that the People seldom or never were in a Ferment but when Incroachments were made upon their Rights and Privileges; and when any such are made, it is very proper, nay it is even necessary that the People should be allowed to proceed to a new Election, in order that they may chuse such Representatives as will do them Justice, by punishing those who have been making Incroachments upon them; otherwise one of these two Effects must very probably ensue: Either the Ferment will break out into an open Insurrection, or the Incroachment that has been made may happen to be forgot before a new Election comes on, and then the Invaders of the People's Rights will have a much better Lay for getting such a new Parliament chosen, as will not only free them from all Punishment, but will confirm the Incroachments

ments that have been made, and encourage the making of new. Thus the Rights of the People may be nibbled and curtailed by Piecemeal, and ambitious Criminals may at last get themselves so firmly seated, that it will be out of the Power of the People to stop their Career, or to avoid the Chains they are preparing.

Now, Sir, to return to the Power of the Crown, which the learned Gentleman has told us was too much limited by the *Triennial Law*; I think I have made it plain, that the just Power of the Crown cannot possibly be limited by frequent Elections, and consequently could not be too much limited by the *Triennial Law*; but by long Parliaments the Crown may be enabled to assume, and to make use of an unjust Power. By our Constitution the only legal Method we have of vindicating our Rights and Privileges against the Encroachments of ambitious Ministers is by Parliament; the only Way we have of rectifying a weak or wicked Administration is by Parliament; the only effectual Way we have of bringing high and powerful Criminals to condign Punishment is by Parliament; but if ever it should come to be in the Power of the Administration to have a Majority of this House depending upon the Crown, or to get a Majority of such Men returned as the Representatives of the People, the Parliament will then stand us in no stead. It can answer none of these great Purposes; the whole Nation may be convinced of the Weakness or Wickedness of those in the Administration, and yet it may be out of the Nation's Power, in a legal Way, to get the Fools turned out, or the Knaves hanged.

This Misfortune, Sir, can be brought upon us by nothing but by Bribery and Corruption; and therefore there is nothing we ought to guard more watchfully against. And an Hon. Gentleman who spoke some Time ago, on the same Side with me, has so clearly demonstrated, that the Elections for a *Septennial Parliament* are more liable to be influenced by Corruption than those for a *Triennial*, that I am surpris'd his Argument should be mistaken, or not comprehended: But it seems the most certain Maxims, the plainest Truths, are now to be controverted or denied. It has been laid down as a Maxim, and I think it is a most infallible Maxim, that a Man will contend with more Heat and Vigour for a Post, either of Honour or Profit, which he is to hold for a long Term, than he will do for one he is to hold for a short Term: This has been controverted. It has been laid down as a Maxim, and I think equally infallible, that 100 Guineas is a more powerful Bribe than 50: This has been denied. Yet nevertheless I must beg Leave to push this Argument a little further.

Let us suppose, Sir, a Gentleman at the Head of the Administration, whose only

Safety depends upon corrupting the Members of this House: This may now be only a Supposition, but it is certainly such a one as may happen; and if ever it should, let us see whether such a Minister might not promise himself more Success in a *Septennial* than he could in a *Triennial Parliament*. It is an old Maxim, that every Man has his Price, if you can but come up to it: This, I hope, does not hold true of every Man, but I am afraid it too generally holds true; and that of a great many it may hold true is what, I believe, was never doubted of; tho' I don't know but it may now likewise be denied. However let us suppose this distressed Minister applying to one of those Men who has a Price, and is a Member of this House: In order to engage this Member to vote as he shall direct him, he offers him a Pension of 1000*l.* a Year; if it be but a *Triennial Parliament*, will not the Member immediately consider within himself: If I accept of this Pension, and vote according to Direction, I shall lose my Character in the Country, I shall lose my Seat in Parliament the next Election, and my Pension will then of Course be at an End; so that by turning Rogue I shall get but 3000*l.* this is not worth my while; and so the Minister must either offer him perhaps the double of that Sum, or otherwise he will probably determine against being corrupted; but if the Parliament were *Septennial*, the same Man might perhaps say within himself, I am now in for 7 Years, by accepting of this Pension I shall have at least 7000*l.* this will set me above Contempt; and if I am turned out at the next Election, I do not value it, I'll take the Money in the mean Time. Is it not very natural to suppose all this? And does not this evidently shew, that a wicked Minister cannot corrupt a *Triennial Parliament* with the same Money with which he may corrupt a *Septennial*.

Again, Suppose this Minister applies to a Gentleman who has purchased, and thereby made himself Member for a Borough, at the Rate of, perhaps, 1500*l.* besides travelling Charges and other little Expences: Suppose the Minister offers him a Pension of 500*l.* a Year to engage his Vote, will not he naturally consider, if it be a *Triennial Parliament*, that if he cannot get a higher Pension he will lose Money by being a Member? and surely if he be a right Burgess, he will resolve not to sell at all, rather than sell his Commodity for less than it cost him; and if he finds he cannot sell at all, he will probably give over standing a Candidate again upon such a Footing; by which not only he, but many others, will be induced to give over dealing in corrupting the Electors at the next Election: But in Case it be a *Septennial Parliament*, will he not then probably accept of the 500*l.* Pension, if he be one of those Men that has a Price? Be-

cause he concludes that for 1500*l.* he may always secure his Election; and every Parliament will put near 2000*l.* in his Pocket, besides reimbursing him all his Charges. After viewing the present Question in this Light, is it possible, Sir, not to conclude, that *Septennial Parliaments*, as well as the Elections for such, must always be much more liable to be influenced by Corruption, than *Triennial*, or the Elections for *Triennial*?

For my own Part, Sir, I have been often chosen, I have sat in Parliament above these 20 Years, and I can say with Truth, that neither at my Election, nor after my Return, no Man ever dared to attempt to let me know what is meant by Bribery and Corruption; but I am sorry to hear the Impossibility of preventing it mentioned, and mentioned too, Sir, within these Walls. The Hon. Gentleman who spoke last, told us the Evil of Corruption was inevitable: If I were so unhappy as to think so, I should look upon my Country to be in the most melancholy Situation. Perhaps it may be the Way of thinking among those he keeps Company with; but I thank God I have a better Opinion of my Countrymen; and since it appears to be a Way of thinking among some Gentlemen, it is high Time to contrive some Method of putting it out of their Power to corrupt the Virtue of the People, for we may depend on this as a certain Maxim, that those who think they cannot gain the Affections of the People, will endeavour to purchase their Prostitution; and the best Way to prevent the Success of their Endeavours, is to raise the Price so high as to put it out of the Power of any Man, or of any Set of Men to come up to it. If a Parliament is to be purchased, if Elections are to be purchased, it is manifest the corrupting of *Triennial* must, upon the Whole, cost a great deal more than the corrupting of *Septennial Elections* or *Parliaments*. Therefore, in order to put it out of the Power of any Man, or of any Administration, to purchase the Prostitution of a Parliament, or of the People, let us return to *Triennial Parliaments*; and if that will not do, let us return to *Annual Elections*, which, I am very certain, would render the Practice of Corruption impossible. This, Sir, is now the more necessary, because of the many new Posts and Places of Profit which the Crown has at its Disposal, and the great Civil List settled upon his present Majesty, and which will probably be continued to his Successors: This, I say, urges the Necessity for frequent new Parliaments, because the Crown has it now more in their Power than formerly, to seduce the People or their Representatives, in Case any future Administration should find it necessary for their own Safety to do so.

That the Increase or Decrease of Corruption at Elections, or in Parliament, must

always depend upon the Increase or Decrease of Virtue among the People, I shall readily grant; but it is as certain, that the Virtue of almost every particular Man depends upon the Temptations thrown in his Way; and according to the Quantity of Virtue he has, the Quantity of the Temptation must be raised, so as at last to make it an Over-balance for his Virtue. Suppose then, Sir, that the Generality of the Electors in *England* have Virtue enough to withstand a Temptation of 5 Guineas each, but not Virtue enough to withstand a Temptation of Ten Guineas one with another; is it not then much more probable, that the Gentlemen who deal in Corruption may be able to raise as much Money once every 7 Years, as will be sufficient to give Ten Guineas each, one with another, to the Generality of the Electors, than that they will be able to raise such a Sum once in every 3 Years? And is it not from thence certain, that the Virtue of the People in general is in greater Danger of being destroyed by *Septennial* than by *Triennial Parliaments*? To suppose, Sir, that every Man's Vote at an Election is like a Commodity which must be sold at the Market Price, is really to suppose that no Man has any Virtue at all; for I will aver, that when once a Man resolves to sell his Vote at any Rate, he has then no Virtue left, which I hope is not the Case of many of our Electors, and therefore the only Thing we are to apprehend is, left so high a Price should be offered as may tempt Thousands to sell, who had never before any Thoughts of carrying such a Commodity to Market. This, Sir, is the fatal Event we are to dread, and it is much more to be dreaded from *Septennial* than *Triennial Parliaments*. If we have therefore any Desire to preserve the Virtue of our People; any Desire to preserve our Constitution; any Desire to preserve our Liberties, our Properties, and every Thing that can be dear to a free People, we ought to restore the *Triennial Law*; and if that be found to be insufficient, we ought to abolish Prorogations, and return to *Annual Elections*.

The learned Gentleman spoke of the Prerogative of the Crown, and asked us, if it had lately been extended beyond those Bounds prescribed to it by Law. Sir, I will not say that there has been lately any Attempts to extend it beyond those Bounds; but I will say, that those Bounds have been of late so vastly enlarged, that there seems to be no great Occasion for any such Attempt. What are the many penal Laws made within these 40 Years, but so many Extensions of the Prerogative of the Crown, and as many Diminutions of the Liberty of the Subject? And whatever the Necessity was that brought us into the enacting of such Laws, it was a fatal Necessity; it has greatly added to the Power

Power of the Crown; and particular Care ought to be taken not to throw any more Weight into that Scale. Perhaps the enacting of several of those penal Laws might have been avoided: I am persuaded the enacting of the Law relating to Trials for Treason, not only might, but ought to have been avoided; for tho' it was but a temporary Law, it was a dangerous Precedent; and the Rebellion was far from being so general in any County as not to leave a sufficient Number of faithful Subjects for trying those who had committed Acts of Treason within the County.

In former Times the Crown had a large Estate of its own; an Estate sufficient for supporting the Dignity of the Crown; and as we had no Standing Armies, nor any great Fleets to provide for, the Crown did not want frequent Supplies; so that they were not under any Necessity of calling frequent Parliaments; and as Parliaments were always troublesome, often dangerous to Ministers, therefore they avoided the calling of any such as much as possible: But tho' the Crown did not then want frequent Supplies, the People frequently wanted a Redress of Grievances, which could not be obtained but by Parliament; therefore the only Complaint then was, that the Crown either did not call any Parliament at all, or did not allow them to sit long enough: This was the only Complaint, and to remedy this, it was thought sufficient to provide for having frequent Parliaments, every one of which, 'twas presumed, was always to be a new Parliament; for 'tis well known, that the Method of Prorogation was of old very rarely made use of, and was first introduced by those who were attempting to make Incroachments upon the Rights of the People.

But now, Sir, the Case is altered; the Crown, either by ill Management, or by Prodigality and Profuseness to its Favourites, has spent or granted away all that Estate; and the publick Expence is so much enlarged, that the Crown must have annual Supplies, and is therefore under a Necessity of having the Parliament meet every Year; but as new Elections are always dangerous as well as troublesome to Ministers of State, they are for having them as seldom as possible; so that the Complaint is not now for want of frequent Meetings or Sessions of Parliament, but against having the same Parliament continued too long. This is the Grievance now complained of; this is what the People desire, this is what they have a Right to have redressed. The Members of Parliament may for one Year be look'd on as the real and true Representatives of the People; but when a Minister has 7 Years to practise upon them, and to feel their Pulses, they may be induced to forget whose Representatives they are; they may throw off all Dependence upon their Electors, and may become Dependents upon

the Crown, or rather upon the Minister for the Time being, which the learned Gentleman has most ingenuously confessed to us, he thinks less dangerous than a Dependence upon his Electors.

We have been told, Sir, in this House, that no Faith is to be given to Prophecies, therefore I shall not pretend to prophesy; but I may suppose a Case, which, tho' it has not yet happened, may possibly happen. Let us then suppose, Sir, a Man abandoned to all Notions of Virtue or Honour, of no great Family, and of a but a mean Fortune, raised to be chief Minister of State, by the Concurrence of many whimsical Events; afraid or unwilling to trust any but Creatures of his own making, and most of them equally abandoned to all Notions of Virtue or Honour; ignorant of the true Interest of his Country, and consulting nothing but that of enriching and aggrandizing himself and his Favourites; in foreign Affairs trusting none but such whose Education makes it impossible for them to have such Knowledge or such Qualifications as can either be of Service to their Country, or give any Weight or Credit to their Negotiations: Let us suppose the true Interest of the Nation by such Means neglected or misunderstood, her Honour and Credit lost, her Trade insulted, her Merchants plundered and her Sailors murdered; and all these Things overlooked, only for Fear his Administration should be endangered: Suppose him next possessed of great Wealth, the Plunder of the Nation, with a Parliament of his own choosing, most of their Seats purchased, and their Votes bought at the Expence of the publick Treasure: In such a Parliament, let us suppose Attempts made to enquire into his Conduct, or to relieve the Nation from the Distress he has brought upon it; and when Lights proper for attaining those Ends are called for, not perhaps for the Information of the particular Gentlemen who call for them, but because nothing can be done in a Parliamentary Way, till these Things be in a proper Way laid before Parliament; suppose these Lights refused, these reasonable Requests rejected by a corrupt Majority of his Creatures, whom he retains in daily Pay, or engages in his particular Interest, by granting them these Posts and Places which ought never to be given to any but for the Good of the Publick: Upon this scandalous Victory, let us suppose this chief Minister pluming himself in Defiances, because he finds he has got a Parliament, like a packed Jury, ready to acquit him at all Adventures: Let us farther suppose him arrived to that Degree of Insolence and Arrogance, as to domineer over all the Men of antient Families, all the Men of Sense, Figure or Fortune in the Nation; and as he has no Virtue of his own, ridiculing it in others,

others, and endeavouring to destroy or corrupt it in all.

I am still not prophesying, Sir, I am only supposing; and the Case I am going to suppose I hope never will happen; but with such a Minister and such a Parliament, let us suppose a Prince upon the Throne, either for want of true Information, or for some other Reason, ignorant and unacquainted with the Inclinations and the Interest of his People, weak, and hurried away by unbounded Ambition and insatiable Avarice: This Case, Sir, has never yet happened in this Nation; I hope, I say, 'twill never exist; but as it is possible it may, could there any greater Curse happen to a Nation, than such a Prince on the Throne, advised and solely advised by such a Minister, and that Minister supported by such a Parliament. The Nature of Mankind cannot be altered by human Laws, the Existence of such a Prince, or such a Minister we cannot prevent by Act of Parliament, but the Existence of such a Parliament I think we may; and as such a Parliament is much more likely to exist, and may do more Mischief while the *Septennial Law* remains in Force, than if it were repealed, therefore I am most heartily for the Repeal of it.

H—y P—ll—m, Esq; The Hon. Gentleman who spoke last, as he always guards what he says, and speaks with so much Decency, that no Notice can be taken of it in a Parliamentary Way, so in the last Suppositions he was pleased to make, he observed so much Caution, that no Observations can be made on any Thing he said, as being contrary to the Orders of this House; yet whatever Suppositions he may please to make with Respect to Ministers, I think he ought not to proceed any higher, and therefore I wish he had spared the last: However, Sir, as these Suppositions, and indeed every other Supposition I have heard, are all imaginary, I shall take no farther Notice of them: They were certainly foreign to the Question in Debate, and had, I think, been better let alone.

As to the Contentions about Elections, I shall not pretend, Sir, to determine by whom they were begun, but I think I can easily account for their having been begun at the Time they were, and that in a Method very different from that laid down by the Hon. Gentleman who spoke last: It is well known what a Spirit, if not of Disaffection, I am sure I may say of Distraction, was artfully raised during last Session of Parliament, in most Parts of this Nation, by the Misrepresentation of an Affair before it was well understood, and which when it came to be explained could no way bear the Meaning they put upon it: This was thought a proper Opportunity, by those who raised that Spirit, to work upon the Passions of the People, in order to gain their Favour, and to engage their Votes, nei-

ther of which they knew they had any Chance for in any other Way; and this, Sir, I really believe, was the Reason why the Contentions about Elections began so early in most Parts of the Kingdom; so that if the Gentleman meant my Hon. Friend by me, he was very much mistaken; but if he look another Way, and that within his View, he may find out the first chief Beginner of all these Disturbances.

As to the Question itself, Sir, as I did not intend to have troubled you in this Debate, and as the Question has been already so fully, and so handsomely opposed by the Hon. Gentleman under the Gallery, and by several others, I shall only say in general, that as I am not sensible of any Inconvenience that attends *Septennial Parliaments*, but what would in a much greater Degree attend *Triennial*, and as we know from Experience, that too frequent Elections keep the Nation in a continual Ferment, and always must expose us to the many Evils that ensue from Faction and Sedition, therefore I shall give my Vote against the Question.

W—m P—ney, Esq; I intended from the Beginning, Sir, to have spoken in this Debate; but as I now speak so late in it, I can have but little new to offer, the Gentlemen who have spoke before me, having almost entirely exhausted the Argument; and I am sure, if those who have heard the Debate are to be determined, as I hope they will, by what has been offered for and against the Question, it will hardly bear a Division. However, as I voted for this Bill on a former Occasion, and as the principal, and indeed the only Motive, which made me do so, now no longer subsists, I think myself obliged thus publickly to declare, that I am now as zealous to have it repealed, as I then was to have it enacted. When a Country, or the Government of a Country, is in any imminent Danger, it often happens, that People think Regulations necessary, which, when the Danger is over, appear to be attended with as pernicious Consequences, as that very Danger which they were made to prevent, and in such a Case, surely every honest Man must be as fond of having them abolished, as ever he was of having them established.

The Hon. Gentleman who spoke last, tho' he let drop some Expressions with Relation to that Contention already begun about our ensuing Elections, which I might take some Notice of, yet as he generally speaks with very great Candour, I think it would be too severe not to pardon any Slip he may have made in that Respect: But as to the Spirit raised in the Nation last Session of Parliament, which he says was raised by Misrepresentation, and was pleased to call a Spirit, if not of Disaffection, at least of Distraction, I do not know, but it may have been represented as such

such in another Place; and whether that was a Misrepresentation, I shall leave to the World to judge; but of all Misrepresentations, I will say, the most criminal is that of misrepresenting to the King the true Sentiments and real Inclinations of his People; for, however much some Gentlemen may find their Interest in it, I am sure it is not their Duty to do so; but I hope his present Majesty will always be able to distinguish, and it is the Duty of Parliament to inform him how to distinguish between Disaffection to his Government, and Disaffection to his Minister. If the Hon. Gentleman thinks, that the Affair which occasioned the Rise of that Spirit, was at first misrepresented, or that it gained any Advantage by being fully explained, he is, in the Opinion of, I believe, much the greatest Part of the Nation, vastly mistaken; for, the more seriously that Affair has been considered, the more fully it has been explained, the more horrible it has appeared; so that the Spirit, which was raised in Opposition to it, was so far from being unjustly, or groundlessly raised, that I believe it would have been for the Advantage of the Nation, that a new Election had come on, when that Spirit was in its greatest Vigour; and I hope it will not altogether subside, till the People have fully secured their Liberties against all such Attempts for the future.

To imagine, Sir, that frequent Elections should ever become the Cause of Faction and Sedition, is, in my Opinion, something very extraordinary; for it is certain, that Seditions have always proceeded from a general Discontent among the People, and a long Disappointment of meeting, in a legal Way, with that Redress which they had Reason to expect; and till this Discontent becomes violent as well as general, no Faction will ever break out into Sedition: Then indeed Faction begins to change its Name, and those Men, who at first perhaps with Justice were charged with being factious, become then the Patrons and the Protectors of the Rights of the People, and of the Liberties of their Country; for nothing can be called Faction, but when a Set of Men combine and unite together against a wise and a just Government, which no Government can be, that disoblige and irritates the Generality of the People. The certain and the only Way therefore of preventing Sedition, and disappointing Faction, is to give the People frequent Opportunities of representing their Grievances, and obtaining Redress in that legal Way which is prescribed by the Constitution of their Country. Such a Way ought certainly to be established, and is established in every wise Constitution; otherwise the People will seek that by Sedition, which they find they cannot obtain by Law; and the

Method established by our Constitution, is by a Parliament chosen by the free and uncorrupted Voice of the People; therefore in order to avoid Sedition, every Thing ought to be carefully avoided, which may tend to the interrupting the free Choice of the People; and the oftener this Choice is made, the better our Country is guarded against Sedition; because in a long Parliament the People may in the Beginning of it be disoblige; they may despair of obtaining Redress from that Parliament, and before the End their Discontents may become so violent, as to break out in Seditions and Insurrections.

Faction and Sedition, Sir, are two Words that have always been made use of by the Advocates for arbitrary Power, in order to induce the People to give up those Privileges upon which their Liberties depended, or to divert them from reasserting, or vindicating those which had been before foolishly given up, or unjustly usurped and taken from them; but it is to be hoped, those two hideous Words will never in this Country have the desired Effect. It has been already fully shewn, that the Elections for a long Parliament must always be attended with more violent Heats and Animosities, than the Elections for a short, consequently the Country must always be more exposed to Factions and Seditions by the former, than by the latter: I do not know, but the Election for a Parliament may come at last to be like the Election of a King of *Poland*; it may be always attended with a civil War, perhaps with an unwelcome Visit from some of our Neighbours: Therefore if the Fears of Faction and Sedition be any Argument against frequent Elections, as good an Argument may from thence be drawn against electing any new Parliament at all; so that I do not know but I may see a Proposition made for continuing our Seats in this House for Life; and after that, it may be thought proper to make a Law for transmitting them to our Heirs, nay even to our Executors or Administrators.

An Hon. Gentleman seemed much surprised that the Riot Act should have been mentioned upon this Occasion, or that any Gentleman should have the least Thought of having it repealed. Sir, I declare, upon my Honour, that of all the Actions I ever did in my Life, there is not one I more heartily and sincerely repent of, than my voting for the passing of that Law. I believe I am as little suspected of Disaffection to his Majesty or his Family as any Man in the Kingdom; it was my too great Zeal for his illustrious Family transported me to give that Vote, for which I am now heartily grieved: But even then I never imagined it was to remain a Law for ever; no, Sir! this Government is founded upon Resistance; it was the Principle of

Resistance that brought about the Revolution, which cannot be justified upon any other Principle. Is then passive Obedience and Non-resistance to be established by a perpetual Law, by a Law the most severe and the most arbitrary of any in *England*, and that under a Government which owes its very Being to Resistance? The Hon. Gentleman who first mention'd it said very right, It is a Scandal it should remain in our Statute Books; and I will say, they are no Friends to his Majesty or to his Government who desire it should; for it destroys that Principle upon which is founded one of his best Titles to the Crown: While this remains a Law we cannot well be called a free People; a little Justice of the Peace, assisted perhaps by a Serjeant and a Parcel of Hirelings, may almost at any Time have the Lives of 20 Gentlemen of the best Families in *England* in his Power.

As to Bribery and Corruption, Sir, it has been so fully and so clearly demonstrated that *Septennial Parliaments* are more liable than *Triennial* to be influenced by such base Methods, that I shall conclude with observing what every Gentleman I believe is sensible of: It is come to a most intolerable Height; in many, nay in most Parts of our Constitution, we are sunk to the lowest and vilest Dregs of Corruption; and if some extraordinary Event do not prevent it, our Constitution will soon be irrecoverably lost.

Mr. C——r of the *E——r*. I do assure you, Sir, I did not intend to have troubled you in this Debate, but such Incidents now generally happen towards the End of our Debates, nothing at all relating to the Subject, and Gentlemen make such Suppositions, meaning some Person, or perhaps, as they say, no Person now in Being, and talk so much of wicked Ministers, domineering Ministers, Ministers pluming themselves in Defiances, which Terms, and such like, have been of late so much made use of in this House, that if they really mean no body either in the House or out of it, yet it must be supposed they at least mean to call upon some Gentleman in this House to make them a Reply; and therefore I hope I may be allowed to draw a Picture in my Turn; and I may likewise say, that I do not mean to give a Description of any particular Person now in Being. When Gentlemen talk of Ministers abandoned to all Sense of Virtue or Honour, other Gentlemen may, I am sure, with equal Justice, and, I think, more justly, speak of Anti-Ministers and Mock-Patriots, who never had either Virtue or Honour, but in the whole Course of their Opposition are actuated only by Motives of Envy, and of Resentment against those who may have disappointed them in their Views, or may not perhaps have complied with all their Desires.

But now, Sir, let me too suppose, and the House being cleared, I am sure no Person that hears me can come within the Description of the Person I am to suppose: Let us suppose in this, or in some other unfortunate Country, an Anti-minister, who thinks himself a Person of so great and extensive Parts, and of so many eminent Qualifications, that he looks upon himself as the only Person in the Kingdom capable to conduct the publick Affairs of the Nation, and therefore christening every other Gentleman, who has the Honour to be employed in the Administration, by the Name of Blunderer: Suppose this fine Gentleman lucky enough to have gained over to his Party some Persons really of fine Parts, of antient Families, and of great Fortunes, and others of desperate Views, arising from disappointed and malicious Hearts; all these Gentlemen, with respect to their political Behaviour, mov'd by him, and by him solely; all they say, either in private or publick, being only a Repetition of the Words he has put into their Mouths, and a spitting out of that Venom which he has infused into them; and yet we may suppose this Leader not really liked by any, even of those who so blindly follow him, and hated by all the rest of Mankind: We'll suppose this Anti-minister to be in a Country where he really ought not to be, and where he could not have been but by an Effect of too much Goodness and Mercy, yet endeavouring with all his Might and with all his Art, to destroy the Fountain from whence that Mercy flowed: In that Country suppose him continually contracting Friendships and Familiarities with the Ambassadors of those Princes who at the Time happen to be most at Enmity with his own; and if at any Time it should happen to be for the Interest of any of those foreign Ministers to have a Secret divulged to them, which might be highly prejudicial to his native Country, as well as to all its Friends; suppose this foreign Minister applying to him, and he answering, I'll get it you, tell me but what you want, I'll endeavour to procure it for you: Upon this he puts a Speech or two in the Mouths of some of his Creatures, or some of his new Converts; what he wants is moved for in Parliament, and when so very reasonable a Request as this is refused, suppose him and his Creatures and Tools, by his Advice, spreading the Alarm over the whole Nation, and crying out, Gentlemen, our Country is at present involved in many dangerous Difficulties, all which we would have extricated you from, but a wicked Minister and a corrupt Majority refused us the proper Materials; and upon this scandalous Victory, this Minister became so insolent as to plume himself in Defiances: Let us farther suppose this Anti-minister to have travelled, and at every Court where he was, thinking himself the greatest Minister, and making it his

his Trade to betray the Secrets of every Court where he had before been; void of all Faith or Honour, and betraying every Master he ever served. Sir, I could carry my Suppositions a great deal farther, and I may say I mean no Person now in Being; but if we can suppose such a one, can there be imagined a greater Disgrace to Human Nature than such a Wretch as this?

Now, Sir, to be serious, and to talk really to the Subject in Hand: Tho' the Question has been already so fully and so handsomely opposed by my worthy Friend under the Gallery, by the learned Gentleman near me, and by several others, that there is no great Occasion to say any Thing farther against it; yet as some new Matter has been started by some of the Gentlemen who have since that Time spoke upon the other Side of the Question, I hope the House will indulge me the Liberty of giving some of those Reasons which induce me to be against the Motion. In general I must take Notice, that the Nature of our Constitution seems to be very much mistaken by the Gentlemen who have spoken in favour of this Motion. It is certain, that ours is a mixt Government, and the Perfection of our Constitution consists in this, that the Monarchical, Aristocratical and Democratical Forms of Government are mixt and interwoven in ours, so as to give us all the Advantages of each, without subjecting us to the Dangers and Inconveniences of either. The Democratical Form of Government, which is the only one I have now Occasion to take Notice of, is liable to these Inconveniences, That they are generally too tedious in their coming to any Resolution, and seldom brisk and expeditious enough in carrying their Resolutions into Execution: That they are always wavering in their Resolutions, and never steady in any of the Measures they resolve to pursue; and that they are often involved in Factions, Seditions and Insurrections, which exposes them to be made the Tools, if not the Prey of their Neighbours: Therefore in all the Regulations we make, with respect to our Constitution, we are to guard against running too much into that Form of Government which is properly called Democratical: This was, in my Opinion, the Effect of the *Triennial Law*, and will again be the Effect, if ever it should be restored.

That *Triennial Elections* would make our Government too tedious in all their Resolves is evident, because in such Case, no prudent Administration would ever resolve upon any Measure of Consequence, till they had felt not only the Pulse of the Parliament, but the Pulse of the People; and the Ministers of State would always labour under this Disadvantage that as Secrets of State must not be immediately divulged, their Enemies (and Enemies they will always have) would have a

Handle for exposing their Measures, and rendering them disagreeable to the People, and thereby carrying perhaps a new Election against them, before they could have an Opportunity of justifying their Measures, by divulging those Facts and Circumstances from whence the Justice and the Wisdom of their Measures would clearly appear.

A Then, Sir, it is by Experience well known, that what is called the Populace of every Country, are apt to be too much elated with Success, and too much dejected with every Misfortune; this makes them wavering in their Opinions about Affairs of State, and never long of the same Mind; and as this House is chosen by the free and unbiassed Voice of the People in general, if this Choice were so often renewed, we might expect, that this House would be as wavering, and as unsteady as the People usually are; and it being impossible to carry on the publick Affairs of the Nation without the Concurrence of this House, the Ministers would always be obliged to comply, and consequently would be obliged to change their Measures as often as the People changed their Minds.

C With *Septennial Parliaments*, Sir, we are not exposed to either of these Misfortunes, because, if the Ministers, after having felt the Pulse of the Parliament, which they can always soon do, resolve upon any Measures, they have generally Time enough before the new Election comes on, to give the People a proper Information, in order to shew them the Justice and the Wisdom of the Measures they have pursued; and if the People should at any Time be too much elated, or too much dejected, or should without a Cause change their Minds, those at the Helm of Affairs have Time to set them right, before a new Election comes on.

E As to Faction and Sedition, Sir, I will grant that in monarchical and aristocratical Governments, it generally arises from Violence and Oppression; but in democratical Governments, it always arises from the People's having too great a Share in the Government; for in all Countries, and in all Governments, there always will be many factious and unquiet Spirits, who can never be at Rest either in Power or out of Power: When in Power they are never easy, unless every Man submits entirely to their Direction, and when out of Power, they are always working and intriguing against those that are in, without any Regard to Justice, or to the Interest of their Country: In popular Governments such Men have too much Game, they have too many Opportunities for working upon and corrupting the Minds of the People, in order to give them a bad Impression of, and to raise Discontents against those that have the Management of the publick Affairs for the Time; and these Discontents often break out into Seditions, and Insur-

Insurrections. This, Sir, would in my Opinion be our Misfortune, if our Parliaments were either *Annual* or *Triennial*: By such frequent Elections, there would be so much Power thrown into the Hands of the People, as would destroy that equal Mixture, which is the Beauty of our Constitution: In short, our Government would really become a democratical Government, and might from thence very probably diverge into a tyrannical. Therefore, in order to preserve our Constitution, in order to prevent our falling under Tyranny and arbitrary Power, we ought to preserve that Law, which I really think has brought our Constitution to a more equal Mixture, and consequently to a greater Perfection than it was ever in before that Law took Place.

As to Bribery and Corruption, Sir, if it were possible to influence, by such base Means, the Majority of the Electors of *Great Britain*, to chuse such Men as would probably give up their Liberties, if it were possible to influence, by such Means, a Majority of the Members of this House to consent to the Establishment of arbitrary Power, I should readily allow, that the Calculations made by the Gentlemen of the other Side were just, and their Inference true; but I am persuaded, neither of these is possible. As the Members of this House generally are, and must always be, Gentlemen of Fortune and Figure in their Country, Is it possible to suppose, that any of them could by a Pension or a Post be influenced to consent to the Overthrow of our Constitution, by which the Enjoyment, not only of what he got, but of what he before had, would be rendered altogether precarious? I will allow, Sir, that with Respect to Bribery, the Price must be higher or lower, generally in Proportion to the Virtue of the Man who is to be bribed, but it must likewise be granted, that the Humour he happens to be in at the Time, the Spirit he happens to be endowed with, adds a great deal to his Virtue: When no Inroachments are made on the Rights of the People, when the People do not think themselves in any Danger, there may be many of the Electors, who, by a Bribe of ten Guineas, might be induced to vote for one Candidate rather than another; but if the Court were making any Inroachments upon the Rights of the People, a proper Spirit would, without Doubt, arise in the Nation, and in such a Case I am persuaded, that none, or very few, even of such Electors, could be induced to vote for a Court Candidate, no not for ten Times the Sum.

There may, Sir, be some Bribery and Corruption in the Nation, I am afraid there will always be some; but it is no Proof of it that Strangers are sometimes chosen; for a Gentleman may have so much natural Influence over a Borough in his Neighbourhood, as to be able

to prevail with them to chuse any Person he pleases to recommend; and if upon such Recommendation they chuse one or two of his Friends, who are perhaps Strangers to them, it is not from thence to be inferred, that the two Strangers were chosen by the Means of Bribery and Corruption.

To insinuate, Sir, that Money may be issued from the publick Treasury for bribing Elections, is really something very extraordinary, especially in those Gentlemen who know how many Checks are upon every Shilling that can be issued from thence; and how regularly the Money granted in one Year for the publick Service of the Nation, must always be accounted for the very next Session in this House, and likewise in the other, if they have a Mind to call for any such Account. And as to the Gentlemen in Offices, if they have any Advantage over Country Gentlemen, in having something else to depend on besides their own private Fortunes, they have likewise many Disadvantages: They are obliged to live here at *London* with their Families, by which they are put to a much greater Expence, than Gentlemen of equal Fortunes who live in the Country: This lays them under a very great Disadvantage, with Respect to the supporting their Interest in the Country: The Country Gentleman, by living among the Electors, and purchasing the Necessaries for his Family from them, keeps up an Acquaintance and Correspondence with them, without putting himself to any extraordinary Charge; whereas a Gentleman who lives in *London*, has no other Way of keeping up an Acquaintance or Correspondence among his Friends in the Country, but by going down once or twice a Year at a very extraordinary Charge, and often without any other Business; so that we may conclude, a Gentleman in Office cannot, even in 7 Years, save much for distributing in ready Money, at the Time of an Election; and I really believe, if the Fact were narrowly enquir'd into, it would appear, that the Gentlemen in Office are as little guilty of bribing their Electors with ready Money, as any other Set of Gentlemen in the Kingdom.

That there are Ferments often raised among the People without any just Cause, is what I am surpris'd to hear controverted, since very late Experience may convince us of the contrary: Do not we know what a Ferment was raised in the Nation towards the latter End of the late Queen's Reign? And it is well known what a fatal Change in the Affairs of this Nation was introduced, or at least confirmed by an Election's coming on while the Nation was in that Ferment: Do not we know what a Ferment was raised in the Nation soon after his late Majesty's Accession? And if an Election had then been allowed to come on while the Nation was in that Ferment, it might

might perhaps have had as fatal Effects as the former; but, thank God, this was wisely provided against by the very Law which is now wanted to be repealed.

It has indeed, Sir, been said, that the chief Motive for enacting that Law now no longer exists: I cannot admit that the Motive they mean was the chief Motive; but even that Motive is very far from having entirely ceased. Can Gentlemen imagine, that in the Spirit raised in the Nation but about a Twelve-month since, *Jacobitism* and Disaffection to the present Government had no Share? Perhaps some who might wish well to the present Establishment did cooperate, nay, I do not know but they were the first Movers of that Spirit; but it cannot be supposed that the Spirit then raised should have grown up to such a Ferment, merely from a Proposition which was honestly and fairly laid before Parliament, and left entirely to their Determination. No, Sir, the Spirit was perhaps begun by those who are truly Friends to the illustrious Family we have now upon the Throne; but it was raised to a much greater Height than, I believe, even they designed, by *Jacobites*, and such as are Enemies to our present Establishment, who thought they never had a fairer Opportunity of bringing about what they have so long and so unsuccessfully wished for, than that which had been furnished them by those who first raised that Spirit. I hope the People have now in a great Measure come to themselves, and therefore I doubt not but the next Elections will shew, that when they are left to judge coolly they can distinguish between the real and the pretended Friends to the Government: But I must say, if the Ferment then raised in the Nation had not already greatly subsided, I should have thought a new Election a very dangerous Experiment; and as such Ferments may hereafter often happen, I must think that frequent Elections will always be dangerous; for which Reason, in so far as I can see at present, I shall, I believe, at all Times think it a very dangerous Experiment to repeal the *Septennial Bill*.

These were the only Gentlemen who spoke in this Debate, except *E—d H—ey*, Esq; and *W—m S—n*, Esq; who both spoke in Favour of the Question, after Mr. *C—is*, and before *C—l B—en*; and Sir *E—d S—ey*, who spoke likewise in Favour of the Question, and next after Sir *W—m T—ge*. Upon a Division, the Question was carried in the Negative, by 247 to 184. (See a List of those who voted for and against this Question, in our *Magazine*, for *April*, p. 206, 207.)

A Letter from the late Bishop ATTERBURY to Mr. P-P-E.

Dear Sir, Paris, Nov. 23, 1731.

YOU will wonder to see me in Print; but how could I help it? The Dead and the Living, my Friends and my Foes, at Home and Abroad, call'd upon me to say something; and the Reputation of a History which I, and all the World value, must have suffer'd, had I continued * silent.

I have printed here, in Hopes somebody may venture to reprint in *England*, notwithstanding the two frightning Words at the Close of it. Whether that happens or not, it is fit you should have a Sight of it, who I know will read it with some Degree of Satisfaction, as it is mine; tho' it should have (as it really has) nothing else to recommend it. Such as it is,—*Extremum hoc munus morientis habeto*; for that may well be the Case, considering that within a few Months I am entering into my 70th Year; after which, even the Healthy and the Happy cannot much depend on Life; and will not, if they are wise, much desire it. Whenever I go, you will lose a Friend that loves and values you extremely; if one in my Circumstances can be said to be lost to any one when dead, more than I am already while living.

I expected to have heard from you by Mr. *Morrice*, and wonder'd a little I did not; but he owns himself in Fault in not giving you due Notice of his Motions. It was not amiss that you forbore writing to me on a Head wherein I had promised more than I was able to perform. Disgraced Men fancy sometimes that they preserve an Influence, where, when they come to exert it, they soon see their Mistake. I did so, my good Friend, and acknowledge it under my Hand. You sounded the Court, and found out my Error, it seems, before I was aware of it. But enough on this Subject.

What are they doing in *England* to the Honour of Letters? And, particularly what are you doing? Do you pursue the moral Plan you mark'd out, and seem'd sixteen Months ago so intent upon? † Am I to see it perfected e'er I die? And are you to enjoy the Reputation of it whilst you live? Or do you rather chuse to leave the Marks of your Friendship, like Legacies in a Will, to be read and enjoy'd only by those that survive you? Were I as near you as I have been, I would hope to peep into the Manuscript, even before it was finished. But, alas! there is, and

* *The Bishop's Vindication of Bishop Smalridge, Dr. Aldrich, and Himself, from the Reflexions of Oldmixon, relating to the Publication of Lord Clarendon's History.* Paris, 1731. 4to. since reprinted in *England*. † *The Essay on Man, since printed.*

and will probably ever be a great deal of Land and Sea between us. How many Books of late have come out in your Parts, which you think I should be glad to peruse? Name them: The Catalogue (I believe) will not cost you much Trouble. They must be good ones, indeed, to challenge any Part of my Time, now I have so little of it left. I, A that squandered away whole Days heretofore, now husband Hours, when the Glass begins to run low; and care not to mispend them on Trifles. At the End of the Lottery of Life, our last Minutes, like Benefit Tickets in a Wheel, rise in their Valuation. They are not so much worth, perhaps, in themselves; as those which preceded; but we are apt to prize them more, and with Reason I do so, my dear Friend, and yet think the most precious of my Minutes well employed in reading what you write. But that's a Satisfaction I cannot much hope for, and therefore must betake myself to others that are less entertaining. Forgive me, dear Sir, engaging with one whom I think you have reckoned among the Heroes of the *Dunciad*. It was necessary for me, either to accept his dirty Challenge, or to have suffered in the Esteem of the World by declining it.

My Country, at this Distance, seems to

me a strange Sight. I know not how it appears to you that are in the Midst of the Sun, and yourself a Part of it. I wish you would tell me. Sketch out a rough Draught of it, that I may be able to judge whether a Return to it be really eligible, or whether I should not, like the Chymist in the Bottle, upon hearing Don *Quevedo's* Account of Spain, desire to be cork'd up again. After all, I do, and must, love my Country, with all its Faults and Blemishes, even that Part of the Constitution which wounded me, and itself thro' my Side. It will ever be dear to me, and my last Wish will be like that of Father Paul, *Esse perpetua!* and when I die at a Distance from it, it will be in the same B Manner as *Virgil* describes the expiring *Peloponnesian*,

Caelumque

Aspicit, & dulces moriens reminiscitur Argos.
Do I still live in the Memory of my Friends, as they certainly do in mine; I have read a good many of the Paper Squabbles about me, and am glad to find such free Concessions on that Head, tho' made with no View of doing me a Pleasure, but merely of loading another.

I am, &c.

FR. ROFFEN.

A View of the Weekly ESSAYS and DISPUTES in this Month.

Universal Spectator, Dec. 7. N^o 322.

The insensible Female punish'd at last. In a D Letter from a Lady.

S I R,

IT is a common, tho' false Maxim of our Sex, when they are in their Pride of Beauty, to boast an Indifference to all Mankind, and to treat such as profess themselves their Lovers with Scorn and Contempt. All Women are susceptible of Love; and for an Example to the Coquetting Part of my Sex, the following little History of an insensible Lady will shew, that the Woman who is insensible, is she who has not yet seen the Person she is to love.

In a populous City in the West of England liv'd a Lady of extraordinary Beauty, whom I shall call *Elvira*; but the Charms of her Person were not more wonder'd at than her Severity of Manners, and an unaccountable Indifference she profess'd for all Men: She had no Notion of what she heard her Sex term Love, but look'd on every Man with the same Thought she did her Brother:

Among her Female Acquaintance she was ever hearing some Tales of Love and ever ridiculing them; she saw a thousand Follies which Love was said to be the Cause of; but not comprehending what they could mean, thought it Madness. Friendship was the only Thing she could conceive an Idea of, therefore cultivated a very intimate one with *Amanda*, a young Lady of her own Age, and not inferior in Beauty.

Notwithstanding *Elvira's* profess'd Insensibility she was not without Lovers; the Men, who will always pretend to judge of a Female Heart, thought there was more Affection in hers than Sincerity, at least each of them imagined he had Power enough to remove her Insensibility. A Prebendary in the Cathedral of that City where she lived being intimate with her Father had frequent Opportunities to be in her Company, and to hear her Sentiments in regard to Men: He was charmed with her Beauty, and looked on her Contempt of his Sex only as a little Artifice of her own. He ventured to declare his Passion, but was repuls'd with the utmost Scorn; yet conscious that he was agreeable in his Person, Humour and Conversation, and equal

equal to her in Family and Fortune, he renewed his Addresses; but she laugh'd at him, rated him, and expos'd every Kind of Thing he said in all Companies she came into; her Heart was untouch'd, and to keep up her Zeal against her Lover, she forgot the Decency of good Manners.

A young Gentleman of a great Family, and Heir to a great Estate, who was just come from Cambridge, succeeded the Prebendary in the Train of her more remarkable Lovers; he had every Thing to recommend him, blooming Youth, agreeable Mein, and a lovely Wit; but neither his Youth, his Mein, or his Wit, could make any Impression on the cold Elvira: All the Tenderness that Love is naturally apt to inspire, was to be seen in this Youth; her Slight he repay'd with Vows of Constancy, and her Contempt, which she openly shew'd to him, was return'd only with a silent Sigh, and a Look so affectionate, that would have rais'd Compassion in any Breast but that of an Insensible. Her continued Disregard struck too deep in a Heart too young to moderate his Passion with Reason; in short, her young Lover fell into all the Agonies of Despair, which brought on him a Complication of Distempers: Every Maiden in the City was moved at so uncommon a Passion, but she who alone could give him Relief: He died her Victim, and she by her seeming Triumph shew'd she was as insensible of Pity as she was of Love.

Every one now allow'd that she had a Heart incapable of Love; yet an old Merchant was not afraid to propose himself as a Husband: He thought, that tho' a Woman's Heart might withstand the Force of Love, yet it was impossible it should resist the Power of Gold; but tho' the old Gentleman had more Assurance than his Predecessors, he had the same Success. Now her Vanity was at the utmost Pitch, as she had confirmed her Insensibility; the Man who was to revenge it, had not as yet appeared. Her old Spark tho' he had given up his Amour, yet had Leave to continue a formal Visit: One Day he carried along with him his Son, a Youth of a sprightly Temper, and who had a Commission in the Army: The military Profession is generally very agreeable to the fair Sex, and even Elvira beheld the Captain with a more than usual Concern. Having heard of his Father's Amour, or for some other Reason, he said very little in her Company, and from his little Conversation she form'd a Judgment of his Wit: She could not tell why, but she wish'd he had more. She saw him afterwards at the Assembly, and there she heard him talk, and with Wit too; yet he gave her there more Uneasiness, for the Conversation did not turn on herself: He said a great many pretty Things, but not one in Praise of her Beauty. She was surprized that a Person of

so much Sense, should have so little Gallantry. At the next Assembly her Friend Amanda was with her, and the Captain came up to them: They had not convers'd long, before Elvira was convinced of her Error; the Captain she saw had Gallantry, but it was for Amanda only; he could then talk of Beauty, and say a thousand soft Things in the Praise of it; he not only could use kind Expressions, but utter'd them with a peculiar Tenderness: Elvira could not bear it; she was no longer indifferent, she was jealous. From that Time she grew reserved to her Friend, yet wanted to see her and the Captain in Company together once more: She did; she is now satisfy'd of her Suspicion; she cannot bear Amanda; she looks on her as a Rival, and is convinced that the Thing which broke off their Friendship was called Love. Elvira and Amanda see one another no more, but Amanda and the Captain are inseparable; they love mutually; they agree to marry; they are marry'd: Elvira hears of it, and raves; accuses her Friend of Ingratitude in robbing her of her Lover; she can take no Rest, her Body grows weak, and her Mind disturb'd, she talks to her Maid, her Father, or her Brother, as if it was the Captain: She recollects her Error and blushes for it, and then relapses into a greater, which she does not blush for: She has Intervals of Reason, but 'tis of Reason she most complains: She finds she is not insensible of Love, but finds it too late. In such a State of Misery she lies, that they who thought nothing could sufficiently revenge her Pride and Insensibility, now begin to think the Punishment inflict'd too severe.

SACHARILLA.

Weekly Miscellany, Dec. 7. No. 104.

Remarks on a Pamphlet, entitled, The Reasons alledg'd against Dr. Rundle's Promotion to the See of G —, seriously and dispassionately considered.

1. THE Author seems throughout to impute it as a Crime to any Ecclesiastick, that he endeavours to preserve the Constitution of the Church, of which he is a Member, and is desirous that the Government of it may be committed, not to Persons who are justly suspected of Disaffection to it; but to those who are of known Fidelity, and are not willing that any Rights or Powers be taken from it, to which it stands entitled by Laws Civil or Sacred. Such as these he represents as Enemies to Liberty.

2. He finds (I perceive) no Medium between no Toleration, and an absolute, unlimited Toleration; nor can see any Difference between Changes which affect the very Essence of an Establishment, and such Changes as are only circumstantial.

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3. He

3. He represents what has been done in Dr. R——'s Case as an *Inquisition*, and as if he were prosecuted upon *Suspicion* only, in order to be *punished* for his *Opinions*; when no more is meant, than that one, who is a Candidate for *Favour*, should first remove all reasonable *Objections* which are raised against his being *duly qualified* for it.

4. He suggests that Dr. R—— and his Friends *do not know* what are the *Imputations* from which he should clear himself. I do not take upon myself to be his *Accuser*: But did Dr. R—— or his Friends never hear that he had been charged with *Arianism*, and a *Denial* of a *Faſt*, which is expreſſly affirmed by *Moses* in the *Old Testament*, and by *St. Paul* and *St. James* in the *New*? (See p. 255.)

5. He suggests, that whereas some of Dr. R——'s Friends appealed to his *Charges* made at his *Archi-diaconal Viſitations*, in Evidence for his hearty Attachments to the Truth of the Gospel, it was said in Answer, that no Regard was to be paid to what was done *ex Officio*. No body has ever said that a *Viſitation Charge* is therefore to be disregarded, because it is delivered *ex Officio*: But it has been said, very properly, that Dr. R—— would have *publiſh'd* those *Charges* made so long before he had any Views to a Bishoprick, if he had known that they contained such Things as would have set him right in the Opinion of the World.

6. He affirms, that Dr. R—— avers, that he had never any such Notions in his *Head* or *Heart* as he is charged with. But this doth not yet appear.

7. In his Treatment of the two Clergymen, who (as it is said) can and will, if Occasion requires, bear Testimony against Dr. R—— this Writer has shewn no Sort of Regard to *Truth* or *Decency*. One is represented as a *poor Creature*, unqualified to judge of the most common Incidents in Conversation, ready to be offended, and *choak'd* at even *demonſtrable Truths*; the other as a *Tale-bearer*, *Pickthank*, *Informer*, and I know not what. I am willing to rest these Matters upon the Judgment of the Publick; but there is one Thing which I cannot help observing, *viz.* That what gives this Writer the greatest Offence in the Characters of these Gentlemen, is their *Zeal* and *Piety*, which seem to appear, in his Eyes, a much worse Crime than *want of Faith*.

8. This Gentleman of the Temple expressly asserts, that the Laws of the Land have not any where defined what is *Heresy*. But he knows, or ought to have known, 1. That by 1 *Eliz. C. 1.* that is *Heresy*, which has been adjudged to be such by the first four General Councils, and that the first of those four is the Council of *Nice*, which condemn-

ed *Arius* and his Adherents. 2. That in a much later Statute, *viz.* 9, 10 *Will. III. Cap. 32.* among the *blasphemous* and *impious Opinions*, contrary to the Doctrines and Principles of the Christian Religion, (they are the Words of the Statute) there are two: The denying any of the Persons in the holy Trinity to be *God*, and the denying the holy Scriptures of the *Old* and *New Testament* to be of divine Authority.

9. He intimates, that the Opposers of Dr. R——'s Promotion are of Opinion, and do insist, that no Man ought to be preferred to a Bishoprick, unless the Recommendation is made by *some* or *all* the Bishops; and, in particular, that *Lawyers* ought not to intermeddle in such Affairs. Which is absolutely false. Nobody ever pretended to exclude Lawyers, or any other Lay Person, from recommending to Bishopricks, provided the Person recommended has a clear Character; of which the late Promotion to the Bishoprick of *Carlisle* is an Instance.

10. He suggests, with great Assurance, that not only *one*, but *many* of the Bishops are for Dr. R——'s Promotion. But to give that Suggestion its proper Weight, it ought to have been made appear, that *more* than *one* are for it, and will not only be ready to join in the consecrating him, when nominated; but also in recommending him, which is what this Writer roundly asserts.

11. He suggests as if something had been given up which was at first objected to Dr. R——'s Promotion. It is false. Nothing has been given up, which was at first objected.

12. He suggests I know not what Projects of making Dr. R—— Dean of *Durham*, or giving him some Bishoprick in *Ireland*. Meer Town-talk! which he dares not pretend to say from *reſt*, or from whom it came; and yet, in about ten Lines after, has the Impudence to pin it upon the great Ecclesiastick, (as he thinks fit to call the Bishop of *L——n*) and argue upon it as if he was responsible in this Case.

13. He suggests, that all the Clergy who are against Dr. R——'s Promotion, (*i. e.* the whole Body of the Clergy, with very few Exceptions) are *Enemies* to *Liberty* and to the present *Royal Family*; which is a vile Slander. But it is Truth, and no Slander, that there is not an *Infidel*, *Deiſt*, or modern *Freebinker* in the Kingdom, who is not zealous for his Promotion.

N. B. Fog having laid aside his Politicks for this Day, and only given us a Paper of a private and personal Nature, relating to the supposed Author of the Prompter, which would afford little or no Entertainment to our Readers, we therefore quit it, and pass on to the Craftsman,

Craftsman, Dec. 7. N^o 440.

The Dissertation on Parties continued from p. 596. In which the Preference of our Constitution to the French is consider'd, &c.

BOTH the Ancestors of the French, and our Ancestors came out of Germany, and had probably much the same Manners, Customs, and Forms of Government. But as they proceeded differently in their Conquests, so did they in the Establishments that followed. The Conquest of Britain was a Work of Time, and the Saxon Monarchy was long in forming. The Conquest of Gaul was carried on with greater Rapidity, and the French Monarchy was sooner formed. From hence some Reasons might be drawn to account for that great Difference between the Constitutions of the two Monarchies, which these two German Nations founded, at no great Distance of Time, in Britain and in Gaul. But whatever were the Reasons, this is certain; that the Distinction of Lord and Vassal became the general Distinction of the whole French Nation; that the Commons amongst them were little better than Slaves, whatever they had been in Germany; and that they were so inured to Servitude under their Kings, Prelates and Lords, that they look'd on themselves at last, not justly, but unjustly, as Men, who had no Right, no not even by Nature, to any Share in the Government.

In Britain another Constitution was formed, and another Spirit prevailed. The Saxons had a * Nobility too, arising from personal Valour, or Wisdom, continued by Blood, and sometimes conferred by the Prince. All these were the Adelings or Nobles, an Handful in Comparison of the Frilingi, or Freeborn, who made the Body of the Saxon People. The Freedom of this People was erected on two Columns, that have proved more durable than Brass. They were Parties to the making, and to the executing all the general Laws of the Kingdom. They shared the legislative Power; were joined to the Lords in the Administration of Justice; and no Magistrate, or Officer, could exercise Jurisdiction over them, no not Ecclesiastical, without their Consent and Election. The Comites ex Plebe, who were chosen for this last Function, the Administration of Justice, made one Rank amongst the Saxon Commonalty. The Custodes Pagani, such as had an Helmet, a Coat of Mail, and a gilt Sword, for their ordinary Arms, whether they fought on Foot, or on Horseback, made another Rank; and the plain Pagani, or Georles, made the lowest. But even these were totally distinct from, and far superior

to the Lazzzi, or Slaves, nay to the free Lazzzi, such as had been Slaves, and were become free. The Georles were Freemen to all Intents and Purposes.

These are the Sources, from which all the Distinctions of Rank and Degree, that exist at this Day amongst us, have flowed. These are the general Principles of all our Liberties. That this Saxon Constitution hath vary'd in many Particulars, and at several Periods of Time, I am far from denying: That it did so, for Instance, on the Entry of the Normans, tho' certainly not near so much as many have been willing to believe. But let it be allowed for Argument's Sake, that during the first Confusion, and the subsequent Disorders, the Scheme of the Saxon Constitution was broken, and the Liberties of the People invaded, as well as the Crown usurp'd; the utmost that can be made of it will amount to this; that Confusion and Violence at the Entry, and for some Time after, under the Government of a foreign Race, introduced many illegal Practices, contrary to the Spirit, and Letter too, of the antient Constitution; and that these Kings and the Lords abused their Power over the Freemen, by Extortion and Oppression, as Lords over Tenants. But it will remain true that neither Kings, nor Lords, nor both together † could prevail over them, or gain their Consent to give their Right, or the Law, up to the King's Beck. But still the Law remain'd Arbiter both of King and People, and the Parliament supreme Expounder and Judge both of it and them.

To bring our Discourse to that Point, which is here immediately concerned; Parliaments were never interrupted, nor the Right of any Estate taken away, however the Exercise of it might be disturb'd. Nay, they soon took the Forms they still preserve, were constituted almost as they now are, and were intirely built on the same general Principles, as well as directed to the same Purposes.

Property indeed, and Power by Consequence, have changed Hands, or rather have shifted much in the same Hands, since the Norman Æra. King, Lords, and the Church were in those Days, and long afterwards, the great Proprietors, and by the Nature of Tenures, as well as by the Bulk of their Estates, they held the Commons in no small Subjection, and seem to have governed without much Regard to them. But the Regard, that was not paid them at first, the Kings, the Lords and the Church found it necessary to pay them in a short Time; and that Weight in the Balance of Power, which Property did not then give them, they soon acquired, or rather resumed by their Numbers, and by the Circumstances, that follow'd; I mean the great Disorders in the State, and the Civil Wars,

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* Nat. Bacon, Hist. & Pol. Dis.

† Nat. Bacon Summary Conclus. of the first Part of His. and Pol. Dis.

which the Ambition of *Princes*, of the *Nobility*, and of the *Church* too, created. In all these Conflicts, some of the *Commons* * *holding for the King, who promised Liberty from the Lords, and others siding with the Lords, who promised them Liberty from the King*, they came off better in the End than their *Principals*, and an Example rarely to be parallel'd was set; for general *Liberty* was nursed by these Means under the Wings of particular *Ambition*. In later Days, when the Nation, harassed by the long Wars of *York* and *Lancaster*, seem'd glad to settle under any stable Government, and in this Temper gave many Advantages to the Cunning of *Henry VII.* which the Violence of his Son improved; it is certain that the *Commons* suffered extremely from the Avarice of one, the Profusion of the other, and the high-strain'd Prerogative of both. But then their Sufferings were temporary, and may be said to have ended with these Reigns; whereas the Sufferings of the *Nobility* and the *Church* were permanent and irretrievable. The King and his Council, says the Author I quoted last, under Colour of *Liveries* and *Retainers*, brought the whole Kingdom to be of their *Livery*. But still the *Commons* lost nothing, and gain'd much. They were more under Subjection to the *Crown*; but less under Subjection to the *Lords* and the *Church*. Not only the Dependencies on these were broken, but the *Lords* and the *Church* were made more dependent on the *Crown* than the *Commons* had been on them. The *Lords* were obliged to attend the Court at their own Expence, and might alienate their Estates to defray this Expence. A great Part of the Lands of the *Church* were confiscated and parcel'd out to those, who could buy, at very cheap Rates; and the Increase of Trade, which began about this Time to be very considerable, put the *Commons* into a Condition of being the Buyers. Thus were the old Foundations of *Property* and *Power* sap'd on one Side, and new Foundations laid on the other. *Democracy* was so well poised with *Aristocracy*, after this great Change, that if they divided, they could not invade one another; and if they united, they could not be invaded by the *Monarchy*. Far different was the Case in other Countries, where the *Crown* got the better of the *Lords*, and baffled, at least in some Degree, the monstrous Attempts of *Ecclesiastical Usurpation*. In *France*, for Instance, when the Incroachments of the *Papal Power*, were check'd, the *Church* compounded with the *Crown*, and an Alliance succeeded of the *Monarchy* with the *Hierarchy*. But if the *Church* was able to compound, the *Nobility* was forced to submit in that Kingdom; so that the Authority and Wealth of the *Church* being fix'd on

the Side of the *Crown*, the whole Strength and Influence of the *Nobility* being taken from them, and incorporated with the Power of the *Crown*, and the *Commons* having nothing to do in that Government, but to pay Taxes, and carry Arms, the Kings of *France* are become absolute *Monarchs*; and whatever *Liberty*, or *Appearance of Liberty*, there was in that Constitution, it is totally destroyed.

A When I say that *Parliaments* were intirely built on the same general Principles, as well as directed to the same Purposes, as they still are, I shall be justify'd by the whole Tenor of our History, and of our Law. Let us consider this in a Case the plainest imaginable, tho' it suffers so much Debate thro' the Effrontery of some Men. Let us consider it relatively to that great Principle, that *Parliaments* ought to be independent of the *Crown*, in all Respects, except such as are settled by the Law and Custom of *Parliament*, and concerning which there is no Dispute. What else did those Laws mean, that were made in the Time of the *Lancaster Kings*, to regulate the Elections, and to prevent the Influence, which *Richard III.* had illegally and arbitrarily employ'd, and which there was room to fear that other *Princes* might employ? What else do all those Resolutions, Declarations, Remonstrances, and Acts of *Parliament* mean, that have been made so often, and enforced so strongly, from Time to Time, and from those Days to these, against the Influence of the *Crown*, either on the Elections, or on the Members of *Parliament*? If this be so, what do those Men mean, who are employ'd, or rather what does *he* mean, who employs them, to plead in all Places, and on all Occasions, even the most solemn, in Favour of this very Influence, nay of the very worst Sort of it, which is created immediately by Corruption; for to that their Arguments reach by undeniable Consequences? Reason is against him and them; since it is a plain Absurdity to suppose a Controul on the *Crown*, (and they have not yet ventured to suppose the contrary, that I know of) and to establish at the same Time a Power, and even a Right, in the *Crown* to render this Controul useless.

F We shall hear, for ought I know, even in this Age, that *Kings* are God's *Viceregents*; that they are, next to him and his Son *Christ Jesus*, supreme Moderators and Governors. We shall hear again, perhaps, of their hereditary, divine, indefeasible Right, and the rest of that silly Cant, which was invented to make the Usurpations of *Prerogatives* go down the better. But will even this alter the Case? Will this make it unworthy of them to submit to the full Controul of such a Constitution as God himself approved, in the Institution of the *Jewish Senate*. Moses was undoubtedly God's *Viceregent*; he was, if ever Man

Man was so, next and immediately under God, a *supreme Moderator and Governor*. He was inspired, and assisted in a supernatural Manner; and yet he took the Advice of his Father-in-Law *Jethro*, the Priest of *Midian*. He associated to himself in the Government of the Common-Wealth, or he bad the People take, as he says in another Place, or chose, *wise Men and understanding, and known among the Tribes*, that they might be associated to him. Whether they, who deduce from hence the Institution of *Sanhedrins*, are in the Right, or they, who assign them a more modern Date, against the Opinion of the *Jewish Doctors* themselves, it matters not to enquire. Thus much is certain. A great *Sanhedrin* subsisted at *Jerusalem* even at the coming of the *Messiah*, as well as *inferior Sanhedrins* in several Parts of *Palestine*; which Form of Government bore some Resemblance to our old *Saxon Constitution*; and he, who looks into Mr. *Selden*, will find that the great *Sanhedrin* had as much Authority, and exercised as much Power, as ever *Parliaments* did, or *Wittenagemotes* could claim. That God approved a Kind of *Parliamentary Establishment*, and a Division of the supreme Power between his Vicegerent *Moses* and the 70 *Elders*, to whom he gave some of the Spirit, that was on *Moses*, is plain from Scripture. After this, it cannot be said, I think, to derogate from the Majesty of any Prince, that he is relieved from the Burthen of governing alone; that he is obliged to share the supreme Power with the *Nobility* and *Commonalty* of the Realm; and that he is hindered from destroying, either directly or indirectly, that *Independency* of these other *Estates*, which can alone preserve this Division of the supreme Power.

But, perhaps, these great and honest Men have discovered a Necessity of putting the Members, or a Majority of the Members of *Parliament* under the Influence of the *Crown*, in order to preserve this very Constitution. Let us see therefore what Dangers this Expedient is fitted to prevent. Are we afraid that an *House of Commons*, unless restrain'd by *Places* and *Pensions*, should give up the Constitution to the *Lords*, and establish an *Aristocracy*? This Fear would be ridiculous surely. Are we afraid that an *House of Commons*, unless restrain'd in this Manner, should usurp more Power than belongs to them, and establish a Kind of *Democratical Tyranny*? But they would have in Opposition to them a Power sufficient to defeat their Designs; the united Power of the *Crown* and of the *House of Lords*. Formerly indeed, they succeeded in an Attempt of this Kind, and the *King* and the *Lords* may at any Time throw too much Power into their Scale, and set the Sense and Spirit of the People on their Side, as was done at that Time. But this

neither hath been, nor can be done, unless both *King* and *Lords* conduct themselves so ill, that the Mischiefs to be apprehended from their Prevalency appear as great, or greater than from the Prevalency of the *Commons*. Let it be remembered too that as the *King* and *Lords* may give too much Power and Popularity to the *Commons*, so the *Lords* and *Commons* may give too much Power to the *Crown*. The Difference will lye only here; that the *King* and *Lords* will never do the first designedly; whereas there is a Possibility that the *Lords* and *Commons* may be induced, in some Age less virtuous than the present, by *Places*, *Pensions*, and other *Gratifications*, bestowed on a Majority of those *Assemblies*, to do the last designedly. What now remains to be urg'd, in Favour of this Expedient? From what Danger are we to be protected by it? Shall we be told that *Parliaments* will not pursue the national Interest, unless their Members are bought into it by the *Crown*? Something like this hath been advanced, I have heard, and nothing more impudent, nor more silly, could be advanced. Some Inconveniencies may likewise arise from the *Independency* of *Parliaments*. *Ministers*, for Instance, may be called to Account by the *Passion*, by the *Prejudice*, if you will, of such *Assemblies*, oftener perhaps than they deserve to be, or their Faults be punished with more Rigour, not only than true political Justice requires, which should always be tempered with *Mercy*, but even than strict Justice exacts. But as one of these is a Fault, if it be a Fault, on the best Side, and as the other will certainly happen very seldom, it does not seem reasonable that a Door should be opened to *Corruption* and *Dependency*, in order to prevent them. Nay farther, this Vigilance and Severity of *Parliaments*, will not fail to have some very good Effects, more than sufficient to balance the supposed ill Effects. They may render the *Rash*, who are in Power, more cautious, and the *Bold* more modest. They may render *Fools* less fond of Power, and awe even *Knaves* into *Honesty*. It were better surely that able and good Men should now and then suffer (nay the good Man who suffered would be himself of this Opinion) than that the *Adulation* and *Servility* of *Parliaments*, which are the necessary Consequences of *Corruption* and *Dependency*, should ever contribute to make the *Court* become, in any future Age, a Sanctuary for *Pickpockets*, and an Hospital for *Changelings*.

The Prompter, Dec. 10. N^o 9.

Advice to Widows.

THE Point to be canvassed, in Favour of Widows, is, whether that Decency that ought to accompany ev'ry Woman's Actions,

ons, is not a little violated by a second Marriage? I exclude from my Decision all Widows past the Age when Passion is becoming, and adds a Grace to Beauty, or that are loaded with a numerous Off-spring, whose Interest a second Match might hurt; for the first of these ought to have no Passion at all, and the second to transfer it to her Children. The Question then is, *Whether a Lady, yet in the Age of Passion and Beauty, ought to marry again?*

There are Persons in the World, that think it is impossible to love twice, whence they conclude a second Match a Violation of Decency, without any Excuse. If it were true that it is impossible to love twice, I would allow the Inference; but I am of so very different an Opinion, that I think that Person that once has loved, most in Danger of loving again, since, especially in the Fair Sex, there is a Softness of Nature that excludes Insensibility, which (tho' the Object that first turn'd it into Love is gone for ever) still lives in the same Breast, and is, and ought to be open to the same Possibility of Change.

I am not for refusing a Woman that generous and tender Regard due to the Memory of a Man, whom either Love or Gratitude may have made dear to her; but if she pushes it to inward Uneasiness and Discontent, she goes out of Character, and wants prompting into a right Knowledge of herself, and the Part she is to act.

The Cue then that I would give to Widows, is to marry again, when they find a Person from whom they have Reason to expect Happiness; but I strictly enjoin them to associate the Mind's Eye with the Body's, in searching for this Person.

Free Briton, Dec. 5. and 12.

The Causes which contributed to the Ruin of the Liberties of Castile: In Answer to the Craftsman. (See p. 589.)

THE real Grievance of the Commons of Castile, was the King's commanding their Cortes to attend at the Groyne, which was in another Province, and was as unnatural a Summons, as if the Lords and Commons of Great Britain, should be required to hold their Session at the Land's-End, or in the Highlands of Scotland. On this Occasion, the natural Remedy was to chuse no Procurators for the future, but such as should engage to obey no Summons which called them out of Castile, and to give no Money till their Grievances were redressed.

It is infamously false, to charge the Loss of Liberty in Castile, upon the Grant of the Cortes, in 1406, which gave the King a Power to raise new Taxes, for the Support of

the War, when in 1520, (more than 110 Years afterwards) the Power of the Cortes, in all the Provinces of Spain, was formidably great; so that Charles V. tho' he spent a Million of their Money, at Barcelona, could not obtain of the Cortes there, above 25l. clear to himself; nor could he obtain any Money in Aragon; nor procure it of Castile, by Force, Fraud, or Corruption, till he drew the Cortes out of the Province, and pent up their Session in the Groyne.

It is more infamously false and dishonest, to call that Grant of the Cortes, which gave the absolute Power of raising new Taxes, into the Hands of the King, a Vote of Credit, in order to defame the Votes of Credit in Great Britain, which are only Powers to apply Part of the Money, that arises on legal Funds, according to the Exigencies of the Times, to be judged of, within a few Months, by the whole Nation in Parliament, which Delegation of Power, will not amount to any Authority of Taxing the People; nor even of raising the Money to defray the Debt, hereby incurred, unless it be justified by a future Session.

The same Spirit of Falshood and Dishonesty carries the Author of the Dissertation into his Reflections on the Corruption of the Cortes of Castile, as the Ruin of the Spanish Liberties. He knew those Liberties were not lost by the Acts of the Cortes; that the whole Charge against them, and the whole Effect of their Corruption, amounted to no more than a Subsidy, granted to the King at the Groyne; and how much soever it might disagree with the Sentiments of their Constituents, it could not hurt their Liberties: But if the Author had ventured one Step further, he might have told us, what in Reality ruined their Liberties, namely, the Violence of the People, and not the Corruption of their Representatives; for, when these Representatives returned Home, the People rose in Arms and murdered them: From whence hath been drawn that Lesson of publick Virtue which runs throughout the Modern Dissertations on Patriotism, to cure Corruption by Assassination, and reform Mankind by murdering their Magistrates.

The Nobles and Clergy of Castile, had been, from the Beginning of the Tumult, Well-wishers to the Commons; and such of these Orders, as did not openly join them, looked on their Success with real Satisfaction: A Ministry of Foreigners had enraged the Nobility, and the Promotions of Dutch Prelates had enflamed all the Clergy. Of the Nobles, Inigo de Velasco, Constable of Castile, having still appeared discontented with the Court, had been suffered to live quietly at his House in Burgos; till a Rumour prevailed, that, in the Beginning of the Troubles, a Messenger, which this City had sent to the Pro-

Province of *Marindatis*, inviting them into the Association, had been persuaded, by the *Constable of Castile*, not to go, and had been concealed in his House ever since. Upon this Rumour, the Mob rose, surrounded the *Constable's House*, threatening to fire it, and, at length, the poor *Wretch*, who had been hid there, was delivered up to their Rage, who hanged him up at the *Constable's Gate*, and threatened to hang up the *Constable* likewise, if he did not quit *Burgos* immediately. This outrageous Procedure roused him to take up Arms in the Cause of the Crown, against the Commons: And thus, by their Violence, having raised up this Great Man to their Ruin, his Art over-reached them, his Influence corrupted them; and his Arms, assisted by the *Admiral of Castile*, took the Body of the associated *Cortes*, Prisoners at War in the Town of *Tordeillas*; which was stormed with Sword in Hand, to the utter Destruction of the Communities of *Castile*.

For, having drawn these formidable Enemies, the *Constable* and *Admiral of Castile*, upon them, by their Violence and Madness, the Remains of the *Junta*, which had met with this dreadful Blow at *Tordeillas*, escaping to *Valledolid*, and erecting themselves into a Council of State, with *Don John de Padilla* at their Head, they in most unreasonable Vengeance against the two great Men abovementioned, declared War against all the Nobles of *Castile*; demanding likewise, a General Resumption of all the Lands of the Crown; and put it into every one's Mouth, that, before Harvest Time, all the Nobles of the Country would be sent a begging. And, from this Period, not a Word was heard of Grievances from a Ministry of Foreigners, or any of the old popular Complaints; but the universal Cry was that the Nobles had robbed the King and ruined the Kingdom: So that, instead of the *Constable* and *Admiral*, they summoned by this prodigious Act of Extravagance, all the Nobility of *Castile*, to arm against the Communities.

Charles V. seeing that the triumphant Nobles, were, by this strange Revolution, his Friends; and that the brave *John de Padilla*, the *Hannibal of Spain*, was, by the Chance of War, taken Prisoner and beheaded; had the Cunning to draw the Clergy into his Interests. *William de Croy* the *Flemish Archbishop of Toledo* being now dead, the Emperor named a *Castilian* to succeed him; and, on this, the whole Priesthood of Spain turned, as one Man, to betray the Commons into Slavery, whom they principally had excited to rise in Rebellion. *Padilla's Widow*, *Maria Pacheco*, the Heroine of her Sex, whose matchless Fortitude raised her almost above the most illustrious Examples of antient Virtue, with an invincible Genius, when the Fortunes of her Party were turned; when the *Junta of the*

Commons were cut to Pieces; when their Army had been destroy'd, and her brave Lord had lost his Head; this Great Woman, still preserved the Liberties of her Country pent up together with herself, within the Walls of *Toledo*: With astonishing Magnanimity she held out the City against the Crown, the Nobility, and the Clergy, calling on the People incessantly, never to lay down their Arms till they had secured their Freedom, and had taken Vengeance on the Butchers who had cut the Throats of their best Patriots.

If it was the Misfortune of this illustrious Lady, that her Persuasion and Influence precipitated that War, which, sanctify'd by the Cause of Liberty, produced such popular Extravagance, and ended in the Ruin of *Castile*; it will be to her Glory, to the Glory of her Sex, and to that of her Nation, that, with such manly Virtue, she greatly supported her dying Country, and bravely stood in its Defence to the very last Gasps of its Liberty; incapable of all Corruption, incapable of Fear, and stirring up the People to a new War in Defiance of an all-prevailing Enemy.

But the Clergy of *Toledo* no sooner were gratified with the Promotion of a native Archbishop, than they employ'd the Power of the Church against *Padilla's Widow*; and, as it often happens where the Turn is by such Means to be served, they made it the Cause of God and Religion to slander and defame her. Thus, she, who, to her eternal Renown, had refused the Offers of the Governors of *Castile*; nay the strongest Solicitations of her Brother; declaring to him, that as she did not care to outlive the Liberties of her Country, so, had she a thousand Lives, she would lose them all, rather than receive any Favour from those Traitors to their Country who had butcher'd the brave *Padilla*, for no other Reason than his having stood up for its Liberties; she, this Miracle of a Woman, was bewitch'd by the Clergy, as a Witch. They said, that the Negro Woman, she kept, was no Woman, but an Imp of Hell, who furnished her with Charms to fascinate the Multitude; and, that the People, who revered this Lady to Adoration, might be satisfy'd that she bewitch'd them, these godly Deceivers affirmed, That, by Virtue of some very strong Exorcisms, they had forced the Devil to confess as much out of the Mouths of several of her chief Admirers.

At length, her Courage and Wisdom proving superiour to these Ecclesiastical Calumnies, when neither Menaces nor Promises could prevail over her Virtue, but she still defended the City; the Bishop of *Leon*, at the Head of a Multitude, whom he had piously disenchanted by his Exorcisms, assaulted her House; and, after it had been defended several Hours by her Servants, she, with her Sister, the Countess of *Montecute*, escaped privately out of the

the City, and, from *Castile* went into *Portugal*; where she was kindly received by her own Relations, the noble Family of the *Pacheco's*; whilst *Charles V.* with impotent Rage, wreaked his Malice on her Name and Effigies, whom all Posterity must mourn and praise.

The Day after she left the City of *Toledo*, the Magistrates made their Submission; and thus fell the Constitution of *Castile*, tho' its *Cortés* continued to enjoy some Appearances of its ancient Power.

I will here conclude this summary View of the Wars of the *Commons of Castile*, whilst those who would improve the Clamours of Corruption into such Scenes of civil Uproar, may learn, from this Story, what is most likely to be the Fate of their Country from such extravagant Measures.

Universal Spectator, Dec. 14. N^o 323.

Man's Life a continual Round of Hurry and Amusement.

THE great Business and Hurry of Mankind, is little more than so many different Expedients to pass away their Time, and divert the Fatigue of Living by doing something to keep them in Exercise. The Progress of our Passions are ended only with our Life; while there is Life there will remain certain Desires, which have relation to *Futurity*, and which is impossible to confine to any stated Point of Time. We cannot say to them, *no farther shall you go*, since Progression is necessary to Existence, and when we cease to proceed, we cease to be. Action is the Consequence of Living, and when we are most idle, it is only to find out some new Expedient of getting rid of our Time next.

Old Men are generally blamed for laying Foundations for great Buildings, which they can never live to see finish'd: This may shew us how natural a Delight it is to be doing something; since they are so lost in executing their Designs, that they never once think of having them interrupted by Death. There was a Gentleman in *Hertfordshire*, who after he was *Fourscore*, planted a Row of Walnut-Trees, which do not bear Fruit in many Years after they are set, and told his Friends they were of a particular Sort, and he planted them for his own Eating: And Mr. *Hobbes*, when he was turn'd of his 90th Year made a warm Winter Coat, which he said wou'd last him about six Years, and then he wou'd have just such another.

The Dialogue between *Pyrrhus*, King of *Epirus*, and *Cineas*, his Prime Minister, is full of Instruction, and sets forth the restless Spirit of Man: *What, Sir, do you propose in this Expedition against the Romans?* says *Ci-*

neas: To conquer all Italy, answers *Pyrrhus: And what next?* says the Counsellor: *Then we will transport our Forces into Sicily, and make that Kingdom our own*, reply'd his Majesty: *And what Expedition will you go on after that?* Then, quoth the enterprising Hero, *we'll sail to Africa, and subdue that Part of the World.* And what, continues the Statesman, *remains to be done then?* Why then, — then, says the Monarch, *we will sit down and be merry over our Bowls.* And what, answers his Minister, *binders us from doing that Now?*

What Answer the King made, I think is not recorded; but Fighting was his Expedient of wasting his Time, and his constant Diversion to the last Gasps, without arriving at that merry Hour which he propos'd as the Issue of all his Victories; for he was knock'd on the Head at storming of a City, and so like a true Hero died in his Vocation.

Many are the Arts practis'd by poor Mortals to dispatch their Time: The whole Series of their Lives is taken up in tiring themselves by one Action, then flying to another to make them forget they are tir'd; and when that Expedient also grows tiresome they have Recourse to another: Thus they proceed in one continued Round of Curiosity and Fatigue, and support the present Burthen of Life in looking forward to a future.

But the Methods of wasting away our Life are as various as the Humours and Capacities of Mankind: Princes go to War as Country Gentlemen do to a Hunting, only to destroy a Parcel of Innocent Creatures for their Diversion and Exercise; and the great Statesmen struggle for white Staves, as the Children do for Rattles; the harmless Babes indeed are amused with the Tinkle of the Bells, but the Amusement of the Politick Infants is often the Ruin of a Province, or the Plundering of a Nation. Thus some lead Armies, some invent Projects, some make Speeches, and some pick their Teeth; the Beaus recreate themselves with their Snuff, their Solitaires, and their Looking-Glasses; and the Ladies divert themselves with their Tea, their Scandal, and that fashionable Amusement Quadrille, which with a wonderful Facility not only wastes their Time, but their Pin-Money too.

There are some few who in Devotion find an excellent Expedient to pass away several Hours; but the Stratagem of making Piety an Amusement, is not thought considerable enough to be much in Vogue.

Fog's Journal, Dec. 14. N^o 319.

The People's Duty to preserve their Liberties.

IN all Governments that have any Remain of Freedom, and where Power is

acknowledg'd to be deriv'd from the People, the People will and ought to oppose every Thing that looks like the least Design of inroaching upon their Liberties; and therein consists their Safety.

Machiavel says, that when Men rise to a little Power, it is natural for them to grasp at more; and therefore those who would firmly establish their Liberties, must frame their Government in such a Manner, as if they suspected all Men by Nature more inclined to Evil than Good. They ought therefore to confine their Governors within such Bounds as not to leave it in their Power to do Mischief. He observes very well, that after the Expulsion of the *Tarquins*, the Nobility and the People were so united, that they went Hand in Hand, and acted as if they had been but one Family; but no sooner were the Nobility deliver'd by the Death of the *Tarquins*, from the Fear of any Party rising up in Favour of Kingly Government, but they changed their Conduct, were for enlarging their own Power, and for exercising the same Tyranny, under another Name, which the *Tarquins* had practis'd before: But this brave and wise People always oppos'd their Attempts; so that after many Struggles, Things were accommodated betwixt them by the Creation of the Tribunes of the People.

Notwithstanding that this proved an excellent Barrier for the publick Liberties, yet the Nobility could not resist the Temptation of pushing for more Power, as often as any Occasion presented itself, which seem'd to favour such a Design; but as the People always took the Alarm, they defended the Post of Liberty, by such Methods as are practis'd in all free Governments, but which under Tyrannies or Governments running into Tyranny, are called riotous and seditious.

Machiavel taking Notice of the Contentions betwixt the Nobility and the People of Rome, speaks of them to this Effect:

I cannot pass over the Commotions which happen'd in Rome betwixt the Death of the Tarquins and the Creation of the Tribunes, nor can I forbear giving my Opinion against those who will needs have it that Rome was a tumultuous Commonwealth, full of Mutiny and Confusion, and that had not its Valour and good Fortune supplied its other Defects, it would have been inferior to any other Commonwealth.

Those who object against the Tumults between the Nobility and the People in this City, do, in my Opinion, condemn the very Thing to which it ow'd its Freedom; but some Men regard the Bustle and Clamours which usually attend such Commotions, without considering the good Effects they commonly produce, not reflecting that in all Commonwealths there are two opposite Humours, one of the Nobility, the other of the People; that all Laws made in Favour

of Liberty proceed from the Differences betwixt them, which certainly was the Case of Rome; for from the Time of the *Tarquins* to the *Gracchi* (which was more than 300 Years) in all the Tumults in Rome, seldom any body was banish'd, and seldomer put to Death; so that it is neither just nor reasonable to call these Tumults dangerous and horrible, or to pronounce that a seditious and bloody Commonwealth, which, in so long a Time, amidst all their Heats and Animosities, sent not above eight or ten Persons into Banishment, executed but few, and condemn'd not one to any pecuniary Fine.

Nor can those Methods be called seditious which never produced any Laws prejudicial to the publick Interest, and tho' it may be objected that their Ways were wild and whimsical, and that it must look strange to hear the People clamouring against the Senate, and the Senate railing at the People; to see them shut up their Shops, and run tumultuously about the City, and assemble in great Bodies; I answer, that all Cities ought to be allowed some Vent for their Passions, especially where, in Times of Exigence and Danger, all Strength and Succour is drawn from the People; of which Number the City of Rome was one, where when the People had a Mind to a new Law, in Favour of Liberty, they either had Recourse to these Methods, or else refused to list for the Wars; so that the Nobility were in a Manner oblig'd to comply with them; nor had this ever any bad Effect, because the Desires of a Free People never tend to the Destruction of the Commonwealth.

Thus (says *Fog*) it has been the Custom in all free States for the People to assemble in Multitudes, in order to sound each other's Sentiments, to consult, to petition, and to oppose all such Laws as appear'd to them to have any Tendencies towards restraining and lessening their Liberties. Whenever those in the Government venture to dispute this Right with them, and begin to controul them in it; when they threaten Ruin to all that discover any Dislike to their destructive Measures, I say, if ever those entrusted with the Administration of publick Affairs, should arrive at such an Insolence of Power, to do this in a Country that is called Free, we may venture to pronounce, that the Liberties of that People are not long-liv'd.

Craftsman, Dec. 14. N^o 441.

The Dissertation on Parties continued from p. 641.

THE great Alteration we have spoken of, in Property and Power, brought our Constitution, by slow Degrees, so near the most perfect Idea of a free System of Government, that nothing would be now wanting to

complete it, if effectual Means were found of securing the Independency of Parliament against *Corruption*, as well as it is secured against *Prerogative*. Our *Kings* have lost little of the gaudy Plumage of the Crown. Some of their superfluous Power, indeed, hath been bought, and more hath been wrested from them. Notwithstanding which, the Crown must sit lighter, and more secure, on the Head of a *wise Prince*, since the great Change of *Property* and *Power*, in Favour of the *Commons*, than ever it did before. Our *Kings* are no longer exposed to the Insults of turbulent, ambitious *Lords*, or baughty *Prelates*. It is no longer in the Power of a *few factious Noblemen* to draw Armies into the Field, and oblige their *Prince* to fight for his Crown, to fight to gain it, and to fight to keep it; as *Edward the IVth* did, I think, in nine pitch'd Battles. To make the *Prince* uneasy, or insecure, as we are now constituted, the *whole Body of the People* must be uneasy under his Government. A *popular King of Great Britain* will be always not only easy and secure, but in Effect absolute. He will be, what the *British Constitution* alone can make any *Prince*, the *absolute Monarch of a free People*.

The Condition of the *Nation* is mended in every Respect, by the great Improvements of our *Constitution*; which are due principally to the Change I have mention'd, as the Advantages we have made in *Trade*, and in *national Wealth* and *Power*, are due principally to these Improvements. It is by these, that the Subjects of *Great Britain* enjoy hitherto such a Freedom of their *Persons*, and Security of their *Property*, as no other *People* can boast. Hence that great Encouragement of *Industry*; hence that broad and solid Foundation of *Credit*, which must always continue, unless the Weight of *Taxes*, and the Oppression of *Tax-gatherers* make it worth no Man's while to be industrious any longer, and unless *national Credit* be reduced, by Length of Time, and private Management to rest no longer on its *natural and original Foundation*, but on the feeble Props of *yearly Expedients*, and *daily Tricks*; by which a *System*, that ought to be the *plainest and fairest* imaginable, will become of course a *dark, intricate, and wicked Mystery of Stockjobbing*.

But the great Advantage we are to insist on here, from the Alteration in the State of *Property* and *Power*, is this; that we have been brought by it to the true Poise of a *mix'd Government*, constituted like ours on the *three simple Forms*. The *Democratical Power* is no longer kept under the same Dependencies; and if an *House of Commons* should now fail to assert that *independent Share* in the *supreme, legislative Power*, which the *Constitution* assigns to this *Assembly*, it could not proceed, as it might and sometimes did

formerly, from the Nature of *Tenures*, and many other unavoidable Restraints; but alone from the *Corruption of particular Men*, who threw themselves into a *voluntary Dependency*. The *Democratical Power* of our *Constitution* is not sufficient to overtop the *Monarchical* and *Aristocratical*; but it is sufficient to counterwork and balance any other *Power* by its own Strength, and without the fatal Necessity of favouring the Ambition of the *Crown* against the *Lords*, or that of the *Lords* against the *Crown*. Nay more, as our Government is now constituted, the *three Estates* have not only one common Interest, which they always had; but they have, consider'd as *Estates*, no separate, contradictory Interest. Our *Constitution* gives so much Grandeur and Power to the *Crown*, and our *Parliaments* give so immense a Revenue, that no *Prince* hath any real Interest to desire more, who looks on himself as the *supreme Magistrate of a free People*.

The *Property* of the *Commons* is not only become far superior to that of the *Lords* upon the Whole, but in the Detail there are few, very few Instances to be produced of greater Shares of private *Property* amongst the *latter* than amongst the *former*; and as the *Property* of the *Commons* is greater, so it is equally free. There are no Badges of Servitude on one Side; no Pretence of any Superiority, except those of *Title* and *Rank*, on the other. The *Peers* are, in some Points, (I speak it with all the Respect due to them) *Commoners with Coronets on their Coats of Arms*; and affecting to act as such, it is plain they desire very wisely to be taken for such, on many Occasions. The Interests of these two *Estates* then, with all the Regard to *Property*, are the same; and their *particular Rights* and *Privileges* are now so well ascertained, and so widely distinguished, that as the Proximity of their Interests of one Sort should always unite them, so the Distance of those of another Sort cannot easily make them clash. In short, these two *Orders*, according to the present *Constitution* have no Temptation, and scarce the Means, of invading each other; so that they may the better and the more effectually unite their Efforts, whenever it shall be necessary, against the Encroachments of the *Crown*.

The *Peers of the Realm* can, the *Commons* cannot assemble in their *collective Body*, without exceeding those Numbers, amongst whom the Quiet, Order, Decency, and Solemnity of a *Senate* may be preserved. The *Peers* therefore sit in Parliament in their *collective*, the *Commons* in their *representative Body*. The *Peers* have an inherent, the *Commons* a delegated Right. The *Peers* are therefore accountable for their Conduct, as all other Men are, to *God*, to their own *Consciences*, to the Tribunal of *publick Fame*, and to no other. But the *Commons* are accountable to another

another Tribunal, as well as to these; to that of their *Constituents*, before which they must frequently appear, according to the true Intent of our *Constitution*, to have a Censure, or Approbation, passed on their Conduct, by the Refusal, or Grant of new Powers to the particular Members. Thus the *collective Body of the People of Great Britain* delegate, but do not give up, trust, but do not alienate their Right and their Power, and cannot be undone, by having Beggary or Slavery brought upon them, unless they co-operate to their own Undoing, and in one Word betray themselves.

We cannot therefore subscribe to those two Sayings of my Lord Bacon, that England can never be undone unless by Parliaments; and that there is nothing, which a Parliament cannot do. Great Britain, according to our present Constitution, cannot be undone even by Parliaments; for there is something, which a Parliament cannot do. A Parliament cannot annul the Constitution; and whilst that is preserved, tho' our Condition may be bad, it cannot be irretrievably so. The Legislative is a supreme, and may be call'd, in one Sense, an absolute, but in none an arbitrary Power. * It is limited to the publick Good of the Society. It is a Power, that hath no other End but Preservation, and therefore can never have a Right to destroy, enslave, or designedly to impoverish the Subjects; for the Obligations of the Law of Nature cease not in Society, &c.

If you therefore put so extravagant a Case, as to suppose the two Houses of Parliament concurring to make at once a formal Cession of their own Rights and Privileges, and of those of the whole Nation to the Crown, and ask who hath the Right, and the Means, to resist the supreme, legislative Power; I answer, the whole Nation hath the Right, and a People, who deserve to enjoy Liberty, will find the Means. An Attempt of this Kind would break the Bargain between the King and the Nation, between the representative and collective Body of the People, and would dissolve the Constitution. From hence it follows that the Nation, which hath a Right to preserve this Constitution, hath a Right to resist an Attempt, that leaves no other Means of preserving it but those of Resistance. From hence it follows that if the Constitution was actually dissolved, as it would be by such an Attempt of the three Estates, the People would return to their original, their natural Right, the Right of restoring the same Constitution, or of making a new one. No Power on Earth could claim any Right of imposing a Constitution upon them; and less than any that King, those Lords, and those Commons, who, having been intrusted to preserve, had destroy'd the former.

But to suppose a Case more within the

Bounds of Possibility, tho' one would be tempted to think it as little within those of Probability; let us suppose our Parliaments, in some future Generation, to grow so corrupt, and the Crown so rich, that a pecuniary Influence constantly prevailing over the Majority, they should assemble for little else than to establish Grievances, instead of redressing them; to approve the Measures of the Court, without Information; to engage their Country in Alliances, in Treaties, in Wars, without Examination; and to give Money, without Account, and almost without Stint. The Case would be deplorable. Our Constitution itself would become our Grievance, whilst this Corruption prevailed; and if it prevailed long, our Constitution could not last long; because this slow Progress would lead to the Destruction of it as surely as the more concise Method of giving it up at once. But, in this Case, the Constitution would help itself, and effectually too, unless the whole Mass of the People was tainted, and the Electors were become no honestier than the Elected. Much Time would be required to beggar and enslave the Nation in this Manner. It could scarce be the Work of one Parliament, tho' Parliaments should continue to be septennial. It could not be the Work of a triennial Parliament most certainly; and the People of Great Britain would have none to blame but themselves; because, as the Constitution is a sure Rule of Action to those, whom they chuse to act for them, so it is likewise a sure Rule of Judgment to them in the Choice of their Trustees, and particularly of such as have represented them already. In short, nothing can destroy the Constitution of Britain, but the People of Britain; and whenever the People of Britain become so degenerate and base, as to be induced by Corruption to chuse Persons to represent them in Parliament, whom they have found by Experience to be under an Influence, arising from private Interest, Dependents on a Court, and the Creatures of a Minister; or others, who are unknown to the People, that elect them, and bring no Recommendation but that, which they carry in their Purses; then may the Enemies of our Constitution boast that they have got the better of it, and that it is no longer able to preserve itself, nor to defend Liberty. Then will that trite, proverbial Speech be verif'd in our Case, that the Corruptions of the best Things are the worst; for then will that very Change in the State of Property and Power, which improved our Constitution so much, contribute to the Destruction of it; and we may even wish for those little Tyrants, the great Lords and the great Prelates again, to oppose the Encroachments of the Crown. Then will the Fate of Rome be renew'd, in some Sort, in Britain. The Grandeur of

4 P 2

Roma

* Locke's Essay on civil Government, C. 11. of the Extent of the Legislative Power.

Rome was the Work of many Centuries, the Effect of much Wisdom, and the Price of much Blood. She maintain'd her *Grandeur*, whilst she preserv'd her *Virtue*; but when *Luxury* grew up to favour *Corruption*, and *Corruption* to nourish *Luxury*; then Rome grew venal; the Election of her *Magistrates*, the Sentences of her *Judges*, the Decrees of her *Senate*, all was sold; for her *Liberty* was sold, when *these* were sold; and her *Riches*, her *Power*, her *Glory*, could not long survive her *Liberty*. She, who had been the Envy, as well as the Mistress of Nations, fell to be an Object of their Scorn, or their Pity. They had seen and felt that she governed other People by *Will*, and her own by *Law*. They beheld her governed herself by *Will*; by the arbitrary *Will* of the worst of her own Citizens, of the worst of both Sexes, of the worst of Humankind; by *Caligula*, by *Claudius*, by *Nero*, by *Messalina*, by *Agrippina*, by *Peppæa*, by *Narcissus*, by *Calistus*, by *Pallas*; by *Princes*, that were stupid, or mad; by *Women*, that were abandoned to Ambition and to Lust; by *Ministers*, that were emancipated Slaves, Parasites and Pandars, insolent and rapacious. In this miserable State, the Few, that retained some Sparks of the old Roman Spirit, had double Cause to mourn in Private; for it was not safe even to mourn in Publick. They mourn'd the Loss of the *Liberty* and *Grandeur* of Rome; and they mourn'd that both should be sacrificed to *Wretches*, whose *Crimes* would have been punished, and whose *Talents* would scarce have recommended them to the meanest *Officers*, in the virtuous and prosperous Ages of the Commonwealth. Into such a State, (the Difference of Times, and of other Circumstances considered) at least, into a State as miserable as this, will the People of Britain both fall, and deserve to fall, if they suffer, under any Pretence, or by any Hands, that *Constitution* to be destroyed, which cannot be destroy'd, unless they suffer it; unless they co-operate with the *Enemies* of it: If ever this happens, the *Friends* of *Liberty*, should any such remain, will have one Option still left; and they will rather chuse, no Doubt, to die the last of British *Freemen*, than bear to live the first of British *Slaves*.

The Prompter, Dec. 17. N^o 11.

How to enjoy Life.

ONE seldom goes into any mixed Company, without hearing, if the Conversation grows serious, frequent Complaints against Life, viz. That it is nothing but one dull Round of the same Enjoyments, over and over again: That these Pleasures that appear'd so tempting impossible, possess, are trifling, and not worth living for: That we rise up to eat

and drink, and pay a few ridiculous Visits, and then lie down again to sleep: That even this happy State is often interrupted by Sickness, or one Disappointment or other: And, That, at last, Old-Age comes on, robs us of our Health, and Senses, and renders us the Object of the Contempt of the Younger, till Death closes the Scene.

A If we consider Life in the contracted View of these Murmurers, and make it consist only in so ridiculous a Rotation, Life would indeed become a Burthen; but if we employ the nobler Powers, we have, in considering what Life is, and act in Consequence of such Knowledge, we shall find a Scene of so exalted and dignified a Nature, that we shall be apt to think the Spectacle Providence has introduced us to, by vesting us with human Faculties, so noble, that we should stand indebted only for one Day's Acquaintance with it.

Life, properly understood, offers to the human Creature, an unlimited Scene of Pleasure; but if he will confine his own Sphere of Action in a narrower Compass than his Powers extend, whom can he blame? If, instead of employing his Reason in considering the various Parts of the Universe, and acquiring a Knowledge productive of the noblest Happiness, he will make no Manner of Use of those Faculties he is Master of, but bury himself in the grosser Part of himself, it is no Wonder if he finds the Enjoyments of Life trivial, few, and not worth living for. A Man, that makes no other Use of Life, than what his animal Frame points to, must of course find a Void in Happiness; since, the Senses gratified, the little Reason he has, is just enough to make him feel a Want, and that Want, to make him repine. The Senses, as Part of the human Constitution, have indeed a natural Right to be indulged, but still subordinately.

E If these Complaints were only in the Mouths of the Sensual or Ignorant, or the poorer Part of Mankind, I should not be so much surprized; but when I hear Persons of tolerable good Sense talk in this Manner, it raises a Sort of Indignation in me at their Ingratitude. For my Part, when I consider Mankind in their different Pursuits of Pleasure, all actuated by the same Principle; instead of arraigning, I can't but admire the wonderful Sagacity of Providence, who has bestowed such a Variety of Entertainments to please the contrary Tastes of each particular Person.

This Consideration brings on another, a no less Proof of the Wisdom of Providence, viz. The Desire implanted in our Minds, of enjoying one Thing above another, since the Want of such a Desire would either make the Mind sicken thro' Inaction, and grow a Burthen to itself, or else surfeit in the contrary.

Free

Free Briton, Dec. 19. N^o 267.

WALSINGHAM having discours'd on the Affair of parallel History, suggested so often, as he says, in *Fog* and the *Craftsman*, &c. concludes thus: The Effects of their Illusions on the Multitude, have given them room to imagine that the *Rabble* are ripened, and prepared for more important Exploits. To this Apprehension in the Party, we owe their late *Transcripts of History*, their Appeals to the Power of the People, their *Examples* of popular *Madness*, *Bloodshed*, and *Butchery*: And when they have made the People lewd and daring enough to call for the Application of this *Historical Learning*, the Consequence is evident: *You see, Gentlemen, the Constitution is destroyed; you are to restore it. The Government is now no longer in King, Lords, and Commons: It is in You, the People, and it is in Us, your Leaders: Follow the Examples which you have heard of: Cut the Throats of your Representatives, and you will cure Corruption.* This is the Conclusion carried on in all the *Dissertations on Parties*, and this is the obvious Drift and Design of the last *Craftsman*. (See p. 645.)

There is not a sensible Man can remain without Conviction, that all Factions which work by Violence, drive at Ruin and Destruction; and, after so much Violence as they have recommended, abetted, and justified; after the *Vow of Destruction* in one Assembly, and the *Reeking Blood* (*viz.* of Baron *Gortz*) which was so emphatically spoke of in the other; after the *Solemn League and Covenant* which was promulged when the *Oath of a Privy Counsellor* was broken, and the *Privacies of the King's Closet* were published, to the Amazement of the Kingdom; after the *Vasconcellos of Fog*, (Vol. II. p. 78.) and the *Rufinus of the Craftsman*; (See p. 573.) after their *Panegyrics* upon one *Lord Mayor*, for justifying *Riots*, and their *Investives* against another, for interposing to disperse them; after *Mobs* encouraged to violate the sacred *Liberties of Parliament*, and to assault the Persons of the Members; (Vol. II. p. 211.) after Attempts to keep up *Anniversary Mobs*, perpetual *Riots*, and *endless Outrage*; is there any Man so blinded, or deceived, as not to see the Use and Intention of *Histories* revived, wherein the *Clamours against Corruption* were directed, with fatal Effect, to cut the Throats of a *Parliament*, to carry on a *War against the King*, and (as it was really proposed in the *Wars of Castile*) to change the *Sovereign*, and subvert the *Succession*?

Universal Spectator, Dec. 21. N^o 324.

The Art of Female Conversation.

AS I shall not attempt to prescribe Topics for Female Conversation, nor dare to be

so bold as to banish from the *Tea-Table* the adjusting a *Fashion* and whispering a *Scandal*, I shall only give an Account of those *Arts* which are necessary to be known by that Lady who has an Ambition to attain a proper Notion of spending her Time *elegantly*, and be let into all the *Secret* of *fashionable Conversation*.

A The Gentlemen have several *Arts* to adorn their Discourse which are commonly made use of by the Ladies: The *Diamond Ring* is of equal Service to them both, and must be managed by both Sexes after the same Method. (See p. 575.) Nor is the *Ruffle* less an Auxiliary to Female than to Manly Conversation; tho' the plain *Cambric* one, which is often very successful among the Gentlemen, is of no Force among the Ladies: It is necessary for theirs to be made of the finest *Lace*; and here arise great Disputes, whether the *Mecblin* or the *Brussels* is to have the Preheminence.

B In all Female Conversations there is nothing of such universal Use to fix the Reputation of a fine Talker, as the *Snuff-Box*. The Ladies have such a surprising Volubility of Tongue, which pours out their Conceptions with so vehement a Torrent of Eloquence, that it is necessary to have something to put a short Stop to it, that they may not too unwarily run themselves out of Breath; and what with more Propriety than the *Snuff-Box*? The agreeable *Parentesis* which a *Pinch* of *Havanna* produces, has as strong an Effect to charm an Audience, as a skilful *Pause* in a full Concert. There are some Ladies so sensible of the Benefit of this *polite Aid* to Conversation, that they cannot speak ten Words without it; it stands by them at their *Dinner* and their *Tea*; it inspires them with *Wit* at the *Quadrille Table*, and with *Devotion* at the *Church*.

E The next important Qualification to converse gently, is the *polite Management* of the *Fan*. The Actions which flow from employing this Instrument *elegantly*, are often thought to have more Eloquence than the finest Thing that can be spoke. By this may be expressed all the various Passions of the Mind, according to the different Motion and Attitude the *Fan* is put into. *Anger* or *Resentment* is always shewn by *hasty Flirts*; therefore in those Conversations where the Ladies grow warm in a *Dispute*, (such as distinguishing the superior Accomplishments *Farinelli* has to *Caresini*) all the *Fans* in the Room are in Motion, and those smart *Cracks* they make, add not a little to enforce their several Arguments. The playing the *Fan* in a careless Manner, letting the Sticks fall gradually slow, bespeaks an *Air* of *Indolence* or *Indifference*, and is mostly practised when a disagreeable Gallant is making his Addresses; but the spreading it and viewing the *Mount* with the Eyes

Eyes cast downwards, proclaims an innocent Confusion at the amorous Protections of a favourite Lover.

There are a merry Set of Ladies, who think there can be no *Wit* nor *Spirit* in any Conversation, without there is a great deal of *Laughing*: Among such, nothing is more easy than to pass for a Woman of a *fine Understanding*; you need not speak a Word, but observe only to join in with them at the first *Tittering*, and continue as loud and as long a *Laugh* as any in the Company. As this is a noisy Art to keep up Conversation, it has its contrast Embellishment, which consists of a *Whisper*. I might say a great deal on the Science of *Whispering*, as it would prodigiously contribute to the Repose of publick Places, if it was more generally in Fashion; yet I cannot but observe, that the *Whisperers* have a great Advantage over any other Ladies in the Room, for they have the Happiness by making a very silly Remark a *Secret*, to give a Suspicion they whisper'd something very satirical.

Fog's Journal, Dec. 21. N^o 320.

The Political Quack.

THERE is an old Saying and a true, *That when a Man's Name is up, he may lie a-bed*. Your enterprising People, or more properly, your Men of Front, who resolve to impose upon the World, and to profess some Science or Trade of which they are altogether ignorant, are so convinced of this Truth, that they seldom give themselves the Trouble to acquire any Knowledge in the Business, even after they have resolved to make it their Livelihood. Many a Quack has made a good Estate in this wise Town before he understood the Meaning of any one Term of his Profession. It will be ask'd, How is this brought to pass? Why they are cunning enough to take the shortest Way of growing rich. They make their Court to some Person who has a numerous Gang of Dependants and Followers, perhaps to some great Fool in Fashion, or they intercede with the Chamber-maid of some kept Woman to speak to her Mistress, to speak to the rich Financier her Cully to cry up the Doctor. This often has such an Effect, that the great Vulgar or rich Mob, who are scarce ever directed by common Sense, but are influenced by a foolish Affectation, and can give no Reason for any Thing they do, but that they have seen Somebody else do it before them, will hear of nothing but the Doctor in Vogue.

When our ignorant Pretender is so fortunate to succeed, he carries the World before him, and looks with Contempt upon his learned Brother who has wasted the Flower of his Life in a laborious and fruitless Study, to ac-

quire the true Knowledge of some Art or Science, upon which he may happen to starve, if he trusts to his Merit alone.

It is not only the Quacks in Physick, that attempt to impose upon the World. There are Quacks in every other Profession, nay, even in Mechanicks. From the Jeweller down to the Oyster-seller, nothing will pass with the rich Vulgar, but what comes from the Person who has the Name.

As often as I have reflected on this, I have wonder'd at the ill Luck of a certain Person in the World, who long since has been discover'd, to have been as very a Quack in the worst Sense of the Word, as ever had the Impudence to profess what he did not understand. The Person I mean has been distinguish'd by several Denominations; among the rest, his Countrymen have given him the Title of Knight of the brazen Head, a Title which indeed comprehends the Whole of his Merit. All the common Arts and little Tricks, which are generally used by Quacks, have been put in Practice over and over again by our Knight; but what is very strange, they have not succeeded. All the World saw, that the more he was cried up, the more he was despised. Whenever he meddles in any Thing of Importance, it is taken for granted, that he will blunder; when the Thing happens accordingly, there is not the least Wonder expressed at it; for no-body can be surpris'd at what all the World expected.

It has been observ'd, that the People are apt to think but meanly of the Doctor's Parts, when the *Zani's* he brings upon the Stage have neither Wit nor Humour to entertain them; and it so happen'd, that the brazen Knight's *Toad Eaters* were the most stupid Rogues that ever harangu'd the Crowd, and no Wonder they should be so, for they were of his own chusing. One of the Fathers of the Church said long ago, Tell me your Company, and I will tell you what you are; our Knight as a Proof of his Wisdom invited none to assist him in Practice, but the most notorious Dunces. His little Cunning lay here, he flatter'd himself that it would be a great Advantage to him to appear in a Groupe of very dull Fellows, for that he might shine in such Company; but here he was bit, for the World was of Opinion that he must have a very muddy Head of his own, or he would not keep such Company. In fine, he was so poorly assisted by these Tools, that he was sometimes forced to puff for himself, and as it is the common Cant of Quacks to brag of their Riches, in order to persuade the World that they don't practise for Necessity, the Devil put it into his Head upon a certain Occasion to boast of the great Estate to which he was born, when two Thirds of his Auditors knew he was a Beggar but a few Years before. All that he got by this, was to convince

vince his Hearers that he could out-lie the Devil himself.

Ars non tam bene agendi, quam bene fallendi. The Art of succeeding with the World, does not so much consist in acting well, as in deceiving well. This was the Saying of some Quack, either Antient or Modern, I have forgot which. Our Knight perhaps might not have been ashamed of not succeeding in the first of these, because he never so much as meant it, but his miscarrying in the last, is certainly some Slur upon him, because he never studied any Thing else in his whole Life.

But to give the Devil his Due: I cannot help thinking, in Spight of the general Prejudice, that there were some Qualities in the Man, which might have entitl'd him to the Name of a Politician. In the first Place, he had gain'd such a Mastery over his own Temper, that he could smile in a Man's Face, while he was endeavouring to destroy him behind his Back: Which is some Mark I hope of a Politician. Next, it was found out by a long Observation, that he never spoke as he meant, nor meant as he spoke: Here is another Mark of a Politician. In the third Place, he could fawn and make court to the Man he hated: A third Proof of a Politician. In the next Place, tho' the People might often have been embarrass'd, and even impoverish'd by his Measures, yet it is allow'd that he greatly enrich'd himself and his own Family: Here is another Proof of a Politician. In the last Place, I think it is allow'd to be the Part of a Politician, so to manage that the Design of his Measures is not to be penetrated or seen thro' before they are brought to Maturity. Here he exceeded all that ever went over him, for when his Negotiations had all taken Effect, neither Friend nor Foe could ever discover what he meant by them.

Craftsman, Dec. 27. N^o 442.

Conclusion of the Dissertation on Parties. (See P. 645.)

HE, who undertakes to govern a free People by Corruption, and to lead them by a false Interest, against their true Interest, cannot boast the Honour of the Invention. The Expedient is as old as the World, and he can pretend to no other Honour than that of being an humble Imitator of the Devil. To corrupt our Parliaments hath been often attempted, as well as to divide our People, in Favour of Prerogative, and in order to let the arbitrary Will of our Princes loose from the Restraints of Law; as in the Reign of Charles the 1st; but the Efforts then made were ineffectual. The frugal Habits of the former Age were not intirely lost in that; and this, I presume, may be reckon'd as one

Cause of the noble Stands, then made by our Parliaments, in Opposition to the Court. But not to ascribe more Honour than is due, perhaps, to our Fathers, the Revenue of the Crown was at that Time so small, (I speak comparatively; for, in every other Respect, it was very ample) and the Profusion of that Prince on his Pleasures was so great, that no Minister of K. Charles 1st could find Sums sufficient to buy a Parliament. He stood therefore on his Prerogative, strain'd it as far as he durst, and made all the Use of it he could. The Revenue of the Crown was greatly increas'd in the Reign of K. James the 1st, and was given most unwisely for Life. I say most unwisely; for as a Prince, who hath an Heart and Head to govern well, cannot stand in Need of such a Grant; so a Prince, who hath neither, does not deserve it; and therefore whatever the Generosity of our Countrymen to their Princes may carry them to do at any Time, they might leave this undone at all Times, without any Reflection on their Prudence, or even their Generosity. The Reign of K. James was short, and during this short Reign he rested on that Prerogative, which he knew was a cheaper Expedient than Corruption, and which he vainly flatter'd himself was enough confirm'd to support the Measures he took, for subverting the Religion, the Laws, and the Liberty of Britain. Thus were Men brought, by the Conduct of these two Princes, to fix their Eyes on Prerogative, as the sole Instrument of Tyranny, and to forget that Corruption had been employ'd, tho' unsuccessfully, by K. Charles, and might have been employ'd with greater Force, and perhaps more Success, by K. James. The Cry of the Nation was for a free Parliament, and no Man seem'd to doubt in that Ferment but that a Parliament must be free, when the Influence, which the Crown had usurp'd, in the precedent Reigns, over the Elections, was removed; as it was by the Revolution. But this general Neglect of those, as well as the particular Neglect of those, who took the Lead in national Affairs at that Time, are the more surprizing, because Corruption having been so lately employed, among other Means, to render Parliaments dependent on the Crown, the Danger of Corruption was by Consequence one of those Dangers, against which the Nation had a Right to be secur'd, as well as a Promise of being so, according to the Terms of the Prince of Orange's Declaration. Those Persons especially, who had exclaim'd so loudly against Placemen and Pensioners in the Reign of K. Charles, and who complain'd at this Instant so bitterly of undue Influence, that had been employ'd in small Boroughs chiefly to promote the Elections of the Parliament, which fate in the Reign of K. James, ought to have been attentive, one would think, to take the glorious Opportunity

nity, that was furnished them by a *new Settlement of the Crown*, and of the *Constitution*, to secure the *Independency of Parliaments* effectually for the future. The *Revolution* was, in many Instances, and it ought to have been so in all, one of those *Renewals of our Constitution*, we have often mentioned. If it had been such, with Respect to the *Elections of Members to serve in Parliament*, these *Elections* might have been drawn back to the *antient Principle*, on which they had been established; and the *Rule of Property*, which was follow'd antiently, and was perverted by innumerable Changes, that Length of Time produced, might have been restored; by which the *Communities*, to whom the *Right of electing* was trusted, as well as the *Qualifications of the Electors and the Elected*, might have been settled in Proportion to the present State of Things.

But nothing of this Kind was done at the *Revolution*. Pleas'd that the *open Attacks on our Constitution* were defeated and prevented, Men entertain'd no Thought of the *secret Attacks*, that might be carried on against the *Independency of Parliaments*; as if our Dangers could be but of one Kind, and could arise but from one Family. Soon after the *Revolution*, indeed, Men of all Sides, and of all Denominations, began to perceive not only that nothing effectual had been done to hinder the *undue Influence of the Crown in Elections*, and an *Over-Balance of the Creatures of the Court in Parliament*, but that the Means of exercising such an Influence, at the Will of the *Crown*, were unawares and insensibly increas'd, and every Day increasing. In a Word, they began to see that the Foundations were laid of giving as great Power to the *Crown* indirectly, as the *Prerogative* they had formerly dreaded so much could give directly, and of establishing *universal Corruption*. The first hath happened, and we pray that the last never may.

The *Net Revenue of the Crown*, at the Abdication of K. James, amounted to somewhat more than *two Millions*, without any Tax on *Land*, or *Malt*, and without a Multitude of *Impositions and Excises*, since heap'd on the Nation. It is plain, and it was so then, that *this Revenue* might have been so increas'd, as to answer annually the great annual Expences, in which we engaged soon afterwards. In this Case, the People would not have had a greater, nay nor so great a Burthen to bear, as they had in the Course of the *two Wars*, that followed; and, at the End of *these Wars*, they would have found themselves with little or no Load upon them, instead of crouching under a Debt of *50 Millions*. How it came to pass that a *Method* so practicable, and so eligible, was not taken, (whether this was owing to *private Interest*, to *Party-Cunning*, or to an unhappy Refine-

ment in Politicks that contracting *national Debts* under a *new Establishment* was an effectual Expedient to attach Men to *this Establishment*) I shall not presume to say. All three might have their Share, perhaps, in determining for another Measure. But however that might be, certain it is that we began to borrow at high Interest, to anticipate and mortgage, immediately after the *Revolution*; and having once begun, there was no Remedy; we were forced to proceed in the same Manner thro' the Course of *two mighty Wars*. Formerly, the whole Expence of the State was born by the *Crown*; and when this Expence grew, on extraordinary Occasions, too great for the *Revenue of the Crown* to bear, the People aided the *Crown*, if they approved the Occasions of the Expence. These Grants were properly *Aids*, no more; for the *Revenue of the Crown* was engaged in the first Place, and therefore it might seem reasonable that the *Crown* should have the *Levying and Management of the whole*; of *these Aids*, as well as of the *standing Revenue*. But it happened in this Case, as it does in many; the Reason of the Thing ceas'd, and the Thing continued. A *separate, private Revenue*, or a *Civil-List*, as we commonly call it, was assign'd to the *Crown*. From that Time, the former Order hath been revers'd. Our *Kings*, instead of contributing most, have contributed nothing to the publick Charge; and the People of *Britain*, instead of giving occasionally *Aids* to the *Crown*, have taken upon themselves the whole Load of *ordinary and extraordinary Expences*, for which they annually provide. Notwithstanding this vast Alteration in the State of the *Revenue*, and the Interest of the *King* and the *People*, in the Management of it, the same Forms of granting *Aids to the Crown*, and of levying *Taxes*, and of managing the *publick Treasure*, have been continued; so that the People stand obliged (for the *Crown*, that is trusted with the Whole, is bound for nothing) to make good all *Deficiencies*, tho' they have no Share in the Management of the *Revenue*. Altho' our *Kings* have thus no longer any immediate Interest in the *publick Estate*, they are trusted with the intire Management of it. They are not only *Stewards for the Publick*, but they condescend to be such for all *those private Persons*, who are the *Creditors of the Publick*, and have the additional Trouble of managing about *3 Millions a Year*, on this Head.

Now this *new Settlement* hath had this evident and inevitable Consequence. As we have annually increas'd our *Funds*, and our *Taxes*, we have annually increas'd the *Power of the Crown*; and *these Funds and Taxes* being established and laid for *Perpetuity*, or for Terms equivalent to *Perpetuity*, in the Sense here intended, this Increase of Power must not only

only continue, but still increase, as long as this System of O Economy subsists. If we consider in the Increase of Taxes nothing more than the Increase of Officers first, by which a vast Number of new Dependents on the Crown are created in every Part of the Kingdom; (Dependents as numerous, and certainly more prevalent than all the Tenants and Wards of the Crown were antiently;) and, secondly, the Powers given to the Treasury, and other inferior Offices, on Account of these Taxes; if we consider this alone, we shall find Reason sufficient to conclude that altho' the Power of Prerogative was more open, and more noisy in its Operations, yet the Power thus acquir'd is more real, and may prove more dangerous for this very Reason, because it is more cover'd, and more silent. That Men began to see very soon after the Revolution, the Danger arising from hence to our Constitution, as I said above, is most certain. No less than 7 Acts were made, in K. William's Reign, to prevent undue Influences on Elections, and one of the Acts, as I remember, for I have it not before me, is grounded on this Fact, * that the Officers of the Excise had frequently, by Threats and Promises, prevail'd on Elections, and absolutely debarr'd them of the Freedom of voting. What hath been done, or attempted to be done, since that Time, in the same View, and what hath been done, and attempted to be done, both in the Reign of K. William and since, to prevent an undue Influence on the Elector, as well as on the Electors, I need not recapitulate. They are Matters of fresh Date, and enough known. Upon the Whole, this Change in the State and Property of the publick Revenue hath made a Change in our Constitution, not yet perhaps attended to sufficiently, but such an one however as deserves our utmost Attention; since it gives a Power, unknown in former Times, to one of the 3 Estates; and since publick Liberty is not guarded against the Dangers, that may arise from this Power, as it was, and as it is now more than ever, against the Dangers, that used to arise from the Powers formerly possess'd, or claim'd by the Crown.

Whitehall Evening Post, Dec. 21.

Remarks on the Weekly Miscellany of Dec. 7.
(See p. 637.)

THE Miscellany makes it an Argument of Guilt in Dr. R. that he has not publicly vindicated himself in Print from the Accusations brought against him; and because his Friends have asserted, that he does not know the Particulars of these Accusations, therefore the Miscellany asks, Did Dr. R. never hear, that he has been charg'd with Arianism, and a Denial of a Fact which is expressly affirm'd by Moses in the Old Testament, and by

* 3^d Gul. et Mar.

St. Paul and St. James, in the New? It is indeed very probable, that they have heard this. But is it incumbent on every Clergyman, recommended to the Royal Favour, to clear himself from every hearsay Imputation? What will be the Consequence of such a Rule? Did a Rev. Prelate, or his Friends, never bear that he has been suspected of once refusing the Oaths to the Government? Did they never bear that some still suspect him of Disaffection in his Heart? Did they never bear it reported, that he has always excluded some of the most ingenious and best Friends to the Government from little Preferments in the Universities, for no other Reason but their Regard to the Memory of Dr. Clark, and asserting the Excellence of moral Duties? And must he print to clear himself of such ill-grounded Suspicions before he is advanc'd to any greater Dignity in the Church? The World, I fancy, would smile to see a Rev. Divine exerting his Talents to so ridiculous a Purpose; and after all his Labours to justify himself from these Suspicions, some perverse Whig might perhaps suspect again, and cut out fresh Employment for his Pen. Thus endless and fruitless is the Attempt to wipe off hearsay Aspersions. This, however, I may venture to say, whenever Dr. R. shall be accus'd before proper Judges, either of Arianism or Infidelity, he will be able and ready to justify himself, to the Shame and Confusion of his Adversaries.

But nothing, I find, will content the Miscellany but printing; and therefore, since Dr. R's Friends have appeal'd to his Archidiaconal Charges as Proofs of his Zeal for Christianity, it has been said very properly, that the Dr. would have publish'd these Charges if he had known they contain'd such Things as would have set him right in the Opinion of the World. But why should the Dr. print, to set himself right in the Opinion of the World, before he finds he is wrong in their Opinion; Must he take it for granted, because a common Tale-bearer has trump'd up an old Conversation of 15 Years standing, and a great Churchman has given him Credit, or at least Countenance, that therefore 'tis necessary he should set himself right in the Opinion of the World?

However these Men may flatter themselves, (or perhaps 'tis only their Art to persuade others) that the World is on their Side, impartial Men will pay but little Regard to this Accusation against Dr. R. till the Accuser has justified himself from the Scandal of another infamous Attempt upon the Character of Dr. H———: Then, it may be Time for Dr. R. to publish his Charges in his own Defence, when the World entertains a better Opinion of the Honesty and Veracity of his Accuser. And tho' the Miscellany suggests, that the Bench of Bishops, one only excepted, are against this Promotion, the Friends of

Dr.

Dr. R. are so confident of the Falshood of this Suggestion, that they would willingly put the whole Dispute upon this single Issue, and be content to see the Doctor continue in his present Situation, unless it can be shewn, that a considerable Number of that Rev. Bench wish well to his Promotion.

The *Miscellany* concludes with another malicious Insinuation against the Dr. *It is Truth and no Slander, that there is not an Infidel, Deist, or modern Free-Thinker in the Kingdom, who is not zealous for his Promotion.* What Truth there may be in this Assertion, I have not Acquaintance enough among the Infidels to determine; but however true it may be, I am sure it is no Objection against Dr. R. For, what is the Motive that excites these Men's Zeal for him? Not a Conformity of his Sentiments to theirs, (for this they know he disclaims) but his declar'd Enmity to all Kinds of Persecution: And if this be a Reason against his Promotion, I shall say with the Author of the *Reasons, &c. Farewel Learning, farewell Merit, farewell true Christianity.*

If in these Remarks there be any Thing dropt which appears too warm, it must be imputed to the honest Indignation which must be rais'd in the Breast of every Friend to Liberty, to see a Man of Virtue and Probity, a Lover of Truth and Learning, a good Scholar, and a Christian, thus traduced and Injured by the joint Endeavours of an informing and an aspiring Ecclesiastick.

CANTABRIGIENSIS.

Grubstreet Journal, Dec. 26. N^o 261.

Friend *Misoquackus*,

THE Benefit, which I, and many of our People have received from Friend *Ward's Pills*, engages me to say something, in Answer to thy Cavils, in a late *Grubstreet Journal*. As to what thou sayest of our Lord the King's Chief Baron, I own it smells much of the the Clyster-Pipe. Verily thou talkest like an Apothecary. Before I took my Friend *Ward's Pills*, I had Recourse unto many of the Doctors, and I took their Medicines, as freely as they took my Money; much Good may it do them, tho' they did me none at all. Now I have often told my Friends, in the Words of the Chief Baron, that I had tried the Power of Physick in vain. But wilt thou say, I am not a Teller of Truth, because, that after I had tried 5 or 6 Doctors, I did not run the Gauntlope thro' the whole College? Why dost thou number up with so much Pains, how many my Friend has kill'd? Art thou sure, that they had not some invisible Decay, or Obstruction, which must, otherwise, necessarily have determined the Period of their Lives? Now I will

compute against thy Computation. According to the *Weekly Bills*, near 500 Persons dye weekly; and, I believe, thou wilt allow, that 300 of these are attended either by Doctors or Apothecarys. But surely thou wilt not affirm, they kill 300 weekly. I will also suppose that 1000 Persons come weekly to my Friend *Ward*, most of whom have tried the Doctors before to no Purpose; and canst thou imagine, that a few must not, out of such a Number, dye, by the inevitable Course of Nature, and of their Distempers only? Several of my Friends have been lately under the Direction of the Doctors, but are now no more, for they sleep with their Forefathers. But I will not say the Doctors killed them; but I will say, they did not cure them, and that the Doctors who came last said, the first had done ill. Whither then must we fly in Sickness, but to those, who do not talk of curing, but yet cure? The *Quack* (as thy Brethren in France called him) cured the King's Brother (if I mistake not) of an Ague, which their Doctors could not; wherefore they reviled him, and spoke Evil of his Medicine (the Bark) saying unto him, What is an Ague? But he answered, It is what I can cure, and ye cannot. And do the learned Doctors themselves now cure Agues by any other Medicine? You enquire, what is this *Pill*, and what is this *Drop*? And ye answer yourselves, Surely it is *Poison*. I believe truly, it is *Poison* to you and your Brethren; but to me and to many Thousands, it has been the Restorer of Health. But as thou hast enquired, What is this *Pill*? I will answer for my Friend, You shall not know, what this *Pill* is. And as thou hast very learnedly told us what is *Poison*, I will tell thee plainly and simply, what is not *Poison*. *Opium, Mercury*, and many other Medicines, are not *Poison*, if given in proper Quantities. Nothing is *Poison*, that does not kill, much less hurt. Why do you not satisfy your Doubts by proper Enquiries from the Multitudes who daily resort to my Friend's House; and why will you shut your Eyes against the Truth and the Light of Experience? Your well-wishing Friend,
Obadiah Anti-clysteripus.

Free Briton, Dec. 26. N^o 263.

Patriot Ward and Doctor B——ke.

IT being clear that *Ward's Pill* and *Drop* would have done as signal Service to the Church and the Law as it hath produced within the Province of Medicine, I cannot but imagine that a Man of his Patriotism, and furnished with his *Nostrums*, might practise on the Body Politick with as great Success as on the Natural Body.

Let me then suppose that the Great Refor-

ners of the State are possessed of this mighty Arcanum: That, like him, they proceed by one universal Rule of Purging, Vomiting, and Sweating the State, all at once, as he does to his Patients; that, like him, they despise Ability or Understanding in the Office of administering to Mankind.

With these wholesome Maxims, behold their Leader, the Dispenser of their Nostrums, the great Corruption-Doctor, B——ke; and as the Operations of his Remedies tally most exactly, in all the Effects of Violence, the Hazards of Dissolution, and the Horrors of Destruction; so his Fortunes, like his Physick, have the same Analogy with those of Mr. Joshua Ward; insomuch, that, for the future, I shall pronounce the one a B——ke in Medicine, and the other a mere Ward in Politicks.

To judge the better of the Parallel between them: Does not every one know that Ward was an Exile from his Country, and that he was an Exile in France? Was not B——ke in the like Circumstances? And were they not therefore Graduates in the same University, before they commenced Doctors and Patriots here?

The Craftsman tells us, that Ward had a Pardon from the Crown, before he thought it prudent to venture hither: Did B——ke venture hither, without the same Pardon in his Pocket?

In the Course of their happy Dispensations, are they not equally zealous for the blessed Coalition of Parties? Hath not Mr. Ward reconciled all Parties to his Pill; so that a Protestant Judge attests its Success, [Ld. Chief Baron R——ld's] and a Popish Lady dispenses his Pacquets? (according to Courant, Nov. 28.) Does not B——ke, also, draw all Parties into the same Opinion of his Projects? Are not pretended Whigs, and disgusted Jacobites, alike engaged in the Support of his Scheme?

Do not the Populace attend Mr. Ward in Crowds, and hath not his Pill been triumphant over its Enemies, by the clearest Proofs of the Sense of the People in its Favour? What less hath B——ke to boast of, in the Behalf of his Papers? Hath he not the same Mob-Followers? The same Mob-Appause?

It were easy to shew the strictest Analogy between Ward's Pill, and B——ke's Politicks; that the regular Dose of either does not weigh a Grain; that 480 Doses of each are not worth one Penny; that they have had the same poisonous Effects in Alehouses, Brandy, and Baker's Shops; and that they have killed an incredible Quantity of Chaiemen, &c. too much addicted to irregular Physick, and irregular Politicks.

Craftsman, Dec. 28. N^o 443.

Remainder of the Conclusion of the Dissertation on PARTIES. (See p. 651.)

AFTER recapitulating several Things concerning the Civil List, Officers of the Revenue and the publick Funds, which gave rise to Stockjobbing; the Author proceeds thus:

As the meanest Grubs have rais'd themselves by Stockjobbing to the Rank and Port of Noblemen and Gentlemen; so may Noblemen and Gentlemen debase themselves to their Meanness, and acquire the same Spirit, by following the same Trade. That Luxury, which began to spread after the Restoration, hath increas'd ever since, hath descended from the highest to the lowest Ranks of our People, and is become national. National Luxury and national Poverty may in Time establish national Prostitution. Besides this, the immense Wealth of particular Men is a Circumstance, which always attends national Poverty, and is in a great Measure the Cause of it. Now, as publick Want, or general Poverty, (for in that Sense I take it here) will lay Numbers of Men open to the Attacks of Corruption, so private Wealth will have the same Effect, especially where Luxury prevails, on some of those, who do not feel the publick Want; for there is imaginary, as well as real Poverty. He, who thought himself rich before, may begin to think himself poor, when he compares his Wealth, and the Expence he is able to make, with those of Men, whom he hath been used to esteem, and perhaps justly, far inferior to himself in all Respects. Thus may Contraries unite in their Effect, and Poverty and Wealth combine to facilitate the Means and the Progress of Corruption.

Britain will then be in that very Condition, in which, and in which alone, her Constitution, and her Liberty by Consequence, may be destroyed; because the People may, in a State of universal Corruption, and will in no other, either suffer others to betray them, or betray themselves. How near a Progress we have made towards this State, I determine not. We are not exposed, at present, most certainly to any such Contingency; but the bare Possibility of being so is a Reason sufficient to awaken, and alarm every honest Man. Hath not every such Man, indeed, Reason to be alarmed, when he hears the Cause of Corruption publicly pleaded? Corruption may have been practised in some Degree, perhaps, at all Times. But then it hath been always kept under by the Shame and Danger, that attended both the Corruptor and the Corrupted. It hath been always complained of, never defended, and Endeavours have been used, from Time to Time, with general Applause, to prevent it. But according to the Principles

now avow'd, these Endeavours were unjust; they ought to be repented of; and the Acts made in Consequence of them ought to be repeal'd; for the *constitutional Independency of the Crown* cannot be supported, unless the *Crown* have the Right and the Means of taking their Independency from the *other Parts of the Legislature*. Let no Man think that the Absurdity and Profligacy of *these Doctrines* secure us against the Effect of them. They may soon grow into Vogue, and be reputed as sacred Truths as any of those Falshoods, that are established by the Systems of Policy and Religion, in many other Countries.

But if we should apprehend the Effects of *this Doctrine* as little, as we esteem the *Docters*, who preach it; yet still the Alarm is given by them, and it would be Stupidity, or somewhat much worse, not to take it. The *Friends of our Constitution* therefore are in the Right to join Issue upon this Point with the *Enemies of it*, and to fix upon this principal and real Distinction, and Difference, the present Division of *Parties*; since *Parties* we must have; and since those, which subsisted formerly, are quite extinguished, notwithstanding all the wicked Endeavours of *some Men* to revive them. If there was great Merit, in opposing the Assertors of *Prerogative* formerly, when it rose so high as to endanger our *Liberty*; there is great Merit in opposing the Assertors of *Corruption* now, and in exposing the Means, by which this Expedient may be improved to the Ruin of our *Constitution*, and therefore of our *Liberty*. Nay, the Merit is greater in some Respects, if *Corruption* be more dangerous than *Prerogative*.

On the whole Matter, a *Dissertation upon Parties* could not wind itself up more properly, we think, than by shewing that the *British Constitution* deserves, above all others, the constant Attention, and Care to maintain it, of the *People*, who are so happy as to live under it; that it may be weakened for Want of Attention, which is a Degree of Danger; but that it cannot be destroyed, unless the *Peers* and the *Commons*, (that is, the *whole Body of the People*) unite to destroy it; which is a Degree of Madness, and such a monstrous Iniquity, as nothing but *confirm'd and universal Corruption* can produce; that since the Time, when all our Dangers from *Prerogative* ceas'd, *new Dangers to this Constitution*, more silent and less observed, are arisen; and, finally, that as nothing can be more ridiculous than to preserve the nominal Division of *Whig* and *Tory Parties*, which subsisted before the *Revolution*, when the Difference of *Principles*, that could alone make the Distinction real, exists no longer; so nothing can be more reasonable than to admit the nominal Division of *Constitutionists* and *Anti-Constitutionists*, at this Time, when an

avow'd Difference of *Principles* makes this Distinction real.

To reduce therefore our present Parties to *this single Division*, our present Disputes to *this single Contest*, and to fix our principal Attention on *this Object of Danger*, hath been, and is, the sole Design of these Discourses. The Design may have been insufficiently executed; but it is honest; but it is of the last Importance. Let us hope, and endeavour by all possible Means, that it may not be felt too late; and to encourage the *Constitutionists*, or *Country Party*, in this Attempt, let us consider from whom an Opposition to it is to be expected. Shall it be expected then from those, who have passed under the Denomination of *Tories*? Certainly not. They feel as much as any Men in *Britain* the Preference, that ought to be given to that System of Government, which was established by the *Revolution*, and in which they took so great a Share, and shew themselves as ready to render that *great Work*, which was left imperfect, compleat. Shall this Opposition be expected from the *Dissenters*? It cannot be. Shall they, who pretend to greater Purity than others, become the *Advocates of Corruption*? Shall they contribute their Endeavours to undermine the best Constitution they can hope to enjoy, unless they hope to rise on the Ruins of it, and to form another on their own Model? As *religious Sects*, they deserve Indulgence, and they have it; but they are too wise not to see that, as a *Faction in the State*, they would deserve none. In fine, shall this Opposition be expected from those, who have been called *Whigs*? That too is impossible. Their Predecessors asserted the *Independency of Parliaments*, and struggled hard against *Corruption*, in former Reigns. When the rest of Mankind embrace the *same Principles*, and pursue the *same Ends*, shall they renounce *one*, and run counter to the *other*? Shall they own themselves against *one Method of destroying our Constitution*, but for *another*; against making *Kings independent on Parliaments by Prerogative*, but for making *Parliaments dependent on Kings by Corruption*? Shall they give the *Enemies of the Revolution* a plausible Pretence to say that nothing more was meant, by them at least, than a *Change of Government*, in which they hoped to find their particular and *Party Account*? This would be to cast *black and odious Colours on the Revolution*, indeed; more *black*, and more *odious* than any, that it was in the Power of a *vain, forward, turbulent Preacher* to cast, by his frothy Declamations. It remains therefore that no *national Party* can be form'd in Opposition to those, who endeavour to secure the *Independency of Parliaments* against *Corruption*; nor any Strength to be exerted, except that of a *Faction*, composed of the *Refuse of all Parties*. But what-

whatever *Ministers* may govern, whatever *Factions* may arise, let the *Friends of Liberty* lay aside the groundless Distinctions, employed to amuse and betray them; let them hold fast their Integrity; and they will make the *British Constitution* triumph, even over *Corruption*.

I have now gone thro' the Task I imposed on myself, and shall only add these few Words. There was an Engagement taken, in the Beginning of these Discourses, not to flatter. I have kept this Engagement, and have spoken with great Freedom; but I hope with the Justice and Moderation, and Decency, that I intended, of Persons and of Things. This Freedom intitles me to expect that no Parallels, no Innuendo's should be supposed to carry my Sense farther than I have express'd it. The reasonable Part of Mankind will not disappoint so reasonable an Expectation. But there are a *Set of Creatures*, who have no *Mercy on Paper*, and who are ready to answer, even when they are absolute Strangers to the Subject. They play with Words, and turn and wrest particular Passages. They have done mine that Honour, as I am told, and have once or twice seen. They may do the same again, whenever they please, secure from any Reply, unless they have Sense enough, or their Patrons for them, to take for a Reply the Story I am going to tell you, and which you may find related a little differently in one of the *Spectators*.

A certain pragmatistical Fellow, in a certain Village, took it into his Head to write the Names of the *Squire*, of *all his Family*, of the *principal Parish Officers*, and of some of the *notable Members of the Vestry*, in the Margin of the *whole Duty of Man*, over against every Sin, which he found mentioned in that most excellent Treatise. The Clamour was great, and all the Neighbourhood was in an Uproar. At last, the *Minister* was called in, a pious and prudent Divine. He heard them with Patience; with so much, that he brought them to talk one after the other. When he had heard them, he pronounc'd that they were all in the wrong; that the *Book* was written against *Sins of all Kinds*, whoever should be guilty of them; but that the *Innocent* would give Occasion to unjust Suspicions by all this Clamour, and that the *Guilty* would convict themselves. They took his Advice. The *whole Duty of Man* hath been read ever since, with much Edification, by all the Parishioners. The *Innocent* have been most certainly confirm'd in *Virtue*, and we hope the *Guilty* have been reform'd from *Vice*.

Universal Spectator, Dec. 28. N^o 325.

The Omnipotence of God.

ALL Creatures are endow'd with such Principles of Activity as are suitable to

their Nature, distributed to them by the supreme Disposer and Creator of all Things. The Sun, by diffusing his Attributes of Light and Heat, not only illumines and gives Warmth to the Air, but emits his prolific Qualities down to the inmost Recesses of Earth, and unfathomable Depths of the Sea.

But why need we have Recourse to so vast a Body, who has so prodigious an Energy by its Nature? Observe only the Activity which the Omnipotent Creator has given to a small vegetable Seed; from an inconsiderable Grain behold it shoots up its lofty Head, spreads its Branches, and produces new Seeds, which multiply themselves beyond Number: Imagine then, if it may be possible to imagine, all the Activity and all the Force that are to be found thro' the whole Species of Terrestrial created Beings, collected into one single Agent; would not such Activity, such Strength, be stupendous? Would it not confound the Conception of Man? But if we consider the Omnipotence of God in a higher View, and make it have Relation to those excell'g Beings of his making, the Angels, it is beyond what can possibly enter the Heart of Man to comprehend. The Angel, says the Royal Psalmist, excels in Strength: If such is the Power of one only, what is that of many Thousands? And how much superior still that of all the innumerable Seraphims and Cherubims, and whole Host of Heaven? Was all this inconceivable Power of the whole Host of Heaven lodg'd in one of the created Angels, there is no Idea that Human Understanding could form of it: But this inconceivable Power in the imaginary Angel, really exists in the Creator of him, God Almighty; nay, in a Degree so infinitely superior, that that Angel being but a created Being, and of a limited Nature, would not excel the most contemptible Reptile so much as he himself would be excell'd by the supreme Being: There may be some Proportion between the lowest and the highest created Being, as they are both dependent, but between the most glorious Creature and his infinite omnipotent Creator there can be no Parallel.

Was not the Almighty possess'd of this Attribute, all his other Attributes would consequently be useless: That Wisdom which forms his Designs, requires Power to put them in Execution. If his Goodness was impotent he could only be willing, not able to make others happy; and if his Justice was unarm'd with Might, how could he punish the Criminal, or reward the Virtuous: Then convinc'd of his Omnipotence, let us adore his Wisdom, which is seen thro' all his Works; let us return Thanks for his Goodness, in sending us his only Son to be the Redeemer of Mankind, and let us live up to those Precepts that our Saviour

viour gave us, that we may rather expect the promis'd Rewards, than the threatned Punishments of his Justice.

PHILOTHEUS.

Weekly Miscellany, Dec. 28. N^o 107.

AFTER humourously exposing several Indecencies practis'd at Church, the Author concludes with the following Instructions.

1. I insist upon it, that all Persons (of what Age, Quality, or Condition soever they be, and upon what Motive soever they think fit to come to Church) come in good Time, and seat themselves quietly before the Service begins.

2. That they shall be as careful of their Behaviour, as they would esteem themselves obliged to be in the same Company, if they were to meet in any other Place; because the Place not making any Alteration in the Nature of Things, whatever Postures, Actions, or Looks, are reckoned rude and disrespectful any where else, must be equally so at Church.

3. For still more weighty Reasons, I require, that during any Part of the Service, nobody presume to talk, laugh, or do any Thing else that may disturb scrupulous Consciences who are attentive to it. If any one, who has not been at Church since he came to Years of Discretion, has a Mind to see what People do there, the Rules already laid down may be deemed sufficient; but if he came thither often enough to make it presumed that he is a Christian, it is expected,

4. That they conform to the Directions of the Rubrick, and seem, at least, to join in the Service; for, otherwise, well-meaning Christians may reasonably be offended at their Indevotion: And this I apprehend they may the more easily comply with, because, tho' this Kind of Hypocrisy would, in my Judgment, become a Virtue, yet it has so much the Appearance of Vice, that it may help to recommend the Practice.

The Bishop of London's Circular Letter to the Clergy of his Diocese.

Good Brother,

Dec. 17, 1734.

I Believe it is not unknown to you, that at this Time there is an uncommon Diligence among the Priests of the Church of Rome,

in making Converts to Popery. And tho' the Numbers they have seduced in these two great Cities may not be altogether so large as some have represented; yet it is certain, that the Converts they make are observed by many serious and well-disposed People, to be much more numerous than in former Times.

A And this is a Warning to every one who has the Care of Souls committed to him, to use the like Diligence in watching those who lay in wait to deceive, and to spare no Pains in hindring his People from falling into the Snare; that is, from being perverted to a Religion, which has so grossly corrupted the true Faith and Doctrine of Christ, and introduced so much Superstition and Idolatry into the Christian Worship.

B This is a Duty incumbent upon all who are Pastors in a Protestant Church; and not only so, but Subjects to a Protestant Government; the supporting of which is the only Means, under God, of perpetuating to us the free and quiet Enjoyment of our own Religion. And it must be remembred, that every Convert to Popery, at the same Time that he becomes a Zealot for the Church of Rome, becomes also a Zealot for a Popish Pretender to the Throne.

C Upon both these Accounts, let me beseech you to have a watchful Eye over your Flock, and especially over such of them as you think more liable than others, to be attack'd by Romish Priests, and in Danger to be seduced by them; that you may prevent those Attempts, or at least the Success of them, by learning what are the Arguments in Favour of the Church of Rome, which make the greatest Impression upon their Minds, and by furnishing them with proper Antidotes against them.

E And besides your private Endeavours, it will be very necessary at this Time, that in your publick Discourses from the Pulpit, you take all proper Occasions to possess your People in general, with a just Sense of the many gross and dangerous Corruptions of the Church of Rome; and of the Agreement of the contrary Tenets of this Protestant Church, with the Doctrines of the Gospel.

F Thus, commending you to the Blessing and Direction of God, and praying that this and all your other Pastoral Labours may be attended with Success, I remain,

Sir,

Your assured Friend and Brother,

Edm^r London^r

A Poem sent to the Rev. Dr. Swift, on his Birth-Day, with Pine's Horace, in Turkey Leather, very finely bound and gilt.

By Mr. J. Sican, A. B. T. C. D.

Horace supposed to speak.

YOU'VE read, Sir, in poetic strain,
How *Varus* and the *Mantuan* swain
Have on my birth-day been invited,
(But I was forc'd in verse to write it,)
Upon a plain repast to dine,
And taste my old *Campanian* wine.
But I who all punctilios hate,
(Tho' long familiar with the great)
Nor glory in my reputation,
Am come without an invitation.
And tho' I'm us'd to right *Falernian*,
I'll deign for once to taste *Iernian*.
But fearing that you might dispute
(Had I put on a common suit)
My breeding, and my politess,
I visit in a birth-day dress,
My coat of purest turkey red,
With gold embroid'ry richly spread,
To which I've sure as good pretensions,
As *Irish L—*— who starve on pensions.
What tho' proud ministers of state
Did at your antichamber wait;
What tho' your *Oxfords*, and your *St. Johns*,
Have at your levee paid attendance;
And *Peterborough*, and great *Ormond*,
With many chiefs who now are dormant,
Have laid aside the gen'ral's staff,
And public cares, with you to laugh:
Yet I some friends as good can name,
No less the darling sons of fame;
For sure my *Pollio* and *Mecenas*,
Were as good statesmen, Mr. Dean, as
Either your *Bolingbroke* or *Harley*,
(Tho' they made *Lewis* beg a parley.)
And as for *Mordaunt* your lov'd hero,
I'll match him with my *Drusus Nero*.
You'll boast perhaps your fav'rite *Pope*,
But *Virgil* is as good, I hope.
I own indeed I can't get any
To equal *Helsbam* and *Delany*,
Since *Athens* brought forth *Socrates*,
A *Grecian* isle *Hippocrates*,
Since *Tully* liv'd before my time,
And *Galen* blest'd another clime.
You'll plead perhaps to my request
To be admitted as a guest,
Your hearing's bad — but why such fears;
I speak to eyes, and not to ears.
And for that reason wisely took
The form you see me in — a book.
Attack'd by slow devouring moths,
By rage of barb'rous *Huns* and *Goths*;
By *Bentley's* notes, my deadliest foes,
By *Creech's* rhimes, and *Dunster's* prose;
I found my boasted wit and fire
In their rude hands almost expire;

Yet still they but in vain assail'd,
For had their violence prevail'd,
And in a blast destroy'd my fame,
They would have partly miss'd their aim;
Since all my spirit in thy page,
Defies the *Vandals* of this age.
'Tis yours to save these small remains,
From future pedants muddy brains,
And fix my long uncertain fate;
You best know how — which way — translate.

Spoken Extempore by Dean Swift, on his Curate's Complaint of bard Duty.

I March'd three miles thro' scorching sand,
With zeal in heart, and notes in hand.
I rode four more to great *St. Mary*;
Using four legs when two were weary.
To three fair virgins I did tye men
In the close bands of pleasing *Hymen*;
I dipp'd two babes in holy water,
And purify'd their mothers after.
Within an hour, and eke a half,
I preach'd three congregations deaf,
Which thundering out with lungs long winded,
I chopp'd so fast that few there minded.
My emblem, the laborious sun,
Saw all these mighty labours done,
Before one race of his was run.
All this perform'd by *Robert Howit*:
What mortal else cou'd e'er go through it?

The Parson's Case. In Imitation of Martial.
By the same Hand.

THAT you, friend *Marcus*, like a *Stoick*,
Can wish to die in strain heroick,
No real fortitude implies:
Yet, all must own, thy wish is wise.
Thy curate's place, thy fruitful wife,
Thy busy, drudging scene of life,
Thy insolent illu'rate vicar,
Thy want of all-consoling liquor,
Thy thread-bare gown, thy cassock rent,
Thy credit sunk, thy money spent,
Thy week made up of fasting days,
Thy grate unconscious of a blaze,
And, to compleat thy other curses,
The quarterly demands of nurses,
Are ills you wisely wish to leave,
And fly for refuge to the grave:
And, O what virtue you express
In wishing such afflictions less!

But, now should fortune shift the scene,
And make thy curate-ship a dean;
Or some rich benefice provide,
To pamper luxury and pride;
With labour small, and income great;
With chariot less for use than state;
With swelling scarf, and glossy gown,
And license to reside in town;
To shine, where all the gay resort,
At concert, coffee-house or court;

And

And weekly persecute his grace
With visits, or to beg a place;
With underlings thy flock to teach,
With no desire to pray or preach;
With haughty spouse in vesture fine,
With plenteous meals, and gen'rous wine;
Wou'dst thou not wish, in so much ease,
Thy years as num'rous as thy days?

On the GOUT.

WHILE the first race of men with toil
and sweat,
Manur'd the ground, and earn'd the bread they
eat;

From constant exercise and temperate food,
Vigour unbought and health spontaneous flow'd;
Long did the gout remain unknown on earth,
Unknown the fatal cause that gave it birth;
Till plenty, parent of excess and ease,
Call'd forth the latent seeds of the disease.
Excess, of every malady the source,
Chang'd our perverted blessings to a curse.

Hence still a stranger to the lowly cells,
Where health with poverty and labour dwells,
To those proud structures for retreat he flies,
Where luxury swells the dome, and bids the
column rise.

When season'd dishes croud the glutton's feast,
And poignant sauces gratify his taste,
When the inflaming glass moves briskly round,
And the gay board with thoughtless mirth
is crown'd,

How dearly must the wretch hereafter buy,
With hourly pangs, each moment's fleeting joy?
While every wanton and superfluous draught
With future woe and misery is fraught:
In each delicious morsel poison lurks,
Destroys at leisure and in secret works.

Is life too long, that thus inventive man,
By various arts, contracts his niggard span?
Are there not num'rous deaths we cannot shun,
That we so willingly to destruction run?
Hence noxious humours taint th' infected
blood,

Retard its force, and clog its circling flood,
Mishapen nodes the swelling joints distend,
And pungent tortures every sinew rend;
Nor ceases here — from race to race it runs,
This, with their wealth, the fires bequeath
their sons.

Hence the distorted limbs, the sickly mein,
The lep'rous spots which taint the infant skin;
Such in the well-born child we often trace,
Characteristicks of a noble race.

Gebazi thus entail'd on all his seed,
The curse inflicted on his venal deed.
How false our estimate of human things?
How hid the source from whence our welfare
springs?

We envy and admire the rich and great,
Smit with the dazzling splendour of his state.
But turn your eyes and see another scene,
View him in all the agonies of pain,
When killing anguish throbs in every vein.

His limbs unwieldy, cumbersome and slow,
Their wonted functions now no longer know.
How little then avails his envi'd wealth,
To banish pain, or purchase wish'd for health?
How gladly would he truckle useless store,
For the laborious vigour of the poor?
Those dainties now which crown his plenteous
board,

But mock the mis'ry of their wretched lord.
Joyless amidst his affluence he pines,
Nor tastes his choicest meals or richest wines.
So *Damocles* with anxious fear oppress'd,
View'd with a sickly eye the tyrant's splendid
feast,

Who would be rich on terms severe as these?
Has wealth, with such attendants, charms to
please?

Who would his humble poverty forego,
For fancy'd happiness and real woe?

— But wealth, in time of need, can
summons art,

And sov'reign medicine shall its aid impart.

Little avails what *Hulfe* or *Mead* can do;
Tho' every drug and every herb they knew,
Inferior strength must yield to a superior foe,
Who safe entrench'd in ease, maintains his
ground,

Tho' all the force of *Warwick-Lane* surround.

Wou'd you be free from pain, and health
ensure?

In your own hand behold the means of cure:

' To rugged toils enure your cruel foe,

' Hard lodging and coarse diet let him know;

' Send him to dig the ground and till the field,

' To cleave the stubborn wood, the pond'rous
flail to wield;

' Sweating to mow the grass, both let him
know

' The scorching summer's heat, and winter's
Such, exercise, thy power! it can prevail

Where drugs are vain and *Cataplasms* fail.

On the Nativity of CHRIST.

WHAT sounds harmonious strike the
ears!

See! darkness flies, the light appears.

The sun a purer beam displays,

And shines with more distinguish'd rays.

E'n nature 'self with cheerful grace,

In triumph shews her radiant face.

Odours diffuse, ye spicy beds;

Cedars, bow down your awful heads.

Soft streams, your joys in murmurs tell;

And boisterous waves, exulting swell.

Messiah comes, — in homage now,

Let universal nature bow.

Glory to God, who reigns above,

Fountain of universal love.

Good will to men that dwell below,

Let peace on earth eternal flow;

Thus heavenly breasts in friendship glow.

Let men redeem'd their joys rebound,

And angels pleas'd return the sound;

Since

Since wildly through th' abandon'd skies,
Th' arch-rebel in confusion flies,
And a new heaven and earth take place,
Which Adam's sons restor'd shall grace.

(See Mr. Pope's most excellent Poem on this Subject, p. 441.)

The Annual Recess.

FROM town by love of peace being led,
To my calm retreat I fled;
From threat'ning frown, or artful smile,
Or selfish courtier, full of guile;
From snarling patriots critic sneer,
And wanton harlots amorous leer;
From sops and fools, from knaves and coquets;
From ballad-trollers, and pickpockets;
From hackney coaches noisy din,
And courtly ladies, full of spleen;
From every vice, and every passion,
To country sports, and recreation:
Where the woods uprear'd their head,
And fields with verdure gay were spread:
Where groves obscur'd from every eye,
Might well with lofty IDA'S vye.
Here meads were seen in loveliest drefs,
There rustic grotto's dark recess;
Sunny lawns, and hillocks green,
A sweet inviting *Sylvan* scene;
Purling rills, and murmuring streams,
Where poetick fancy teems.
But, oh! the season's fled away,
Which made the landskip look so gay.
No more the fruits invite the hand,
Nor odorous sweets in order stand;
No more the hills look fresh and green;
No more we see the *Sylvan* scene:
Instead of *Zephyr's* spicy gale,
Which gently brush'd the lowly vale,
Roaring winds impetuous blow,
And all the country's white with snow:
The stream that with its murmuring song,
In sweetest accents roll'd along,
Aias! with ice is cover'd o'er;
The purling rill descends no more.
Unwilling, now I must away,
Again in smoky town to stay,
Waiting till *PHOEBUS* back will bring
The pleasures of th' enchanting spring:
Then will I take again my flight,
To peace, and joy, and calm delight.

E.

The Gentleman. Address'd to John Jolliffe, Esq; Commissioner of the Wine-Licence. By Richard Savage, Esq;

A Decent mien, and elegance of drefs;
Words, which, at ease, each winning
 grace express;
A life, where love, by wisdom polish'd, shines;
Where wisdom's self again, by love, refines;
Where we to chance for friendship never trust;
Nor ever dread from sudden whim disgust;

The social manners, and the heart humane;
A nature ever great, and never vain;
A wit, that no licentious pertness knows;
The sense, that unassuming candour shows;
Reason, by narrow principles uncheck'd,
Slave to no party, bigot to no sect;
Knowledge of various life, of learning too;
Thence taste; thence truth, which will from
 taste ensue;
Unwilling censure, tho' a judgment clear;
A smile indulgent, and that smile sincere;
An humble, tho' an elevated mind;
A pride; its pleasure but to serve mankind;
If these, esteem, and admiration, raise,
Give true delight, and gain unflatt'ring praise,
In one, wish'd view, th' accomplish'd man
 we see;
These graces all are thine, and thou art he.

From the Manuscript of an eminent French Poet.

I.

PHILLIS, nous sommes bien constants,
Mais d'une façon fort contraire;
Vous refusez, & je pretens,
Vous résistez, je persevere;
Vos refus, & mes vœux combattent trop long temps:
Phillis, quelque ardeur qui me tienne,
Quittez votre constance, ou je perdrai la mienne.

II.

Vous avez une cruauté,
A rebuter le plus fidelle;
Je garde une fidelité,
Qui fléchiroit la plus cruelle;
Si vous ne fléchissez, me voilà rebute;
Le seul dessein qui me retienne
C'est de toucher votre ame, ou de guerir la mienne.

Imitated by Mr. Lockman. *The Constant Lovers.*

I.

WE both are constant, beauteous fair,
But in a very different way:
You still refuse; I persevere:
You hate, and I fond love obey.
Too long my homage, and your pride
Have struggled. Grant now my Desire,
Lay your harsh constancy aside,
Or mine (too tender) will expire.

II.

So icy cold is your disdain,
It soon would damp the strongest flame;
So warm a truth I entertain,
Wou'd fire with love the coldest dame.
Then listen, *Phillis*, when I sue,
Or, here, your empire I disown,
And only wait, with this blest view,
To move your heart, or ease my own.

N. B. The other Verses from a French Poet, with the Imitation, shall be inserted in our next.

To the famous W——d, on the Courant's miraculous Discovery of the Pill-Plot; upon the ever memorable 28th Day of November, 1734.*

THE college, now thy secret's out,
No more shall thee controul;
They'll ne'er disturb their heads about
A medicine for the foul.

Religion's no concern of theirs,
We from divines must hope,
That nothing, which thy art prepares,
May usher in the Pope.

As thou no grounds, for this thy skill,
Could e'er be brought to render;
'Twas very easy, in the pill,
To spy out the Pretender.

Such miracles, as make us stare,
Of thee does C——l tell;
Thy pills must come from papal chair,
They're so infallible.

Tho' now thy hand, in pill and drop,
Communicates both kinds;
It very soon the cup will stop,
When wish'd success it finds.

Tho' now we take thy dose at will,
Our faith is ne'er the safer,
For when we have got down the pill,
Thou'lt make us take the wafer.

O scarlet whore! O quack deluder!
O mother of all ills!
When we long since refus'd thy powder,
Dost think we'll take thy pills!

Auspicious month! be ne'er forgot!
May ev'ry age remember;
That both the pill and powder plot,
Were baffled in November.

The Tavern-Hunters. A Ballad.

THE gentry to the King's-Head go,
The nobles to the Crown,
The knights you'll at the Garter find,
And at the Plough the clown.

But we'll beat ev'ry bush, boys,
In hunting out good wine;
And value not a rush, boys,
My landlord, or his sign.

The bishop to the Mitre sticks,
The sailor to the Star,
The parson totes beneath the Rose,
At the Trumpet, men of war.

But we'll, &c.

The bankrupt to the World's-End roams,
No Fair the Feather scorns,
The lawyer to the Devil runs,
The tradesman to the Horns.

But we'll, &c.

* The Courant endeavour'd to shew, that the Design of Mr. W——d's Practice was to promote Popery.

SONG.

NOW we feel the frozen winter;
Cbloe's heart is frozen too;
Cupid's arrow will not enter,
Nor the stubborn maid subdue.
Nature seems, as 'twere expiring,
In this melancholy plight;
I too die with much desiring;
Cbloe's coldness kills me quite.

K.

A Morning Hymn.

AT nature's birth, when on the deep
Darkness and horror lay,
Let there be light, the Almighty said,
And strait sprung forth the day.
This thy first blessing to the world,
The sun revolving brings;
And smiling comfort visits man,
Born on the morning's wings.
Nature, imperfect, and undrest,
Abhorr'd the prying light.
A world of beauteous objects now,
Each morn reveals to sight.
Sweet is the light, and bright the sun,
When he begins his race;
But neither sun nor light is sweet,
If thou conceal thy face.
The day advances, morning flies,
And blazing noon comes on
In vain, while I, in darkness hid,
Lament my absent sun!
Speak, Lord, and to thy servant's soul,
Thy quickening beams restore;
The light with double lustre shines,
When darkness goes before.

ON WINTER. By a Person in the Country.

NOW gloomy winter shews his hoary head,
And nature's face is with confusion
spread; [sweep,
Stern Boreas rambles forth with blust'ring
To explore the continent, and storm the deep:
A-while he ranges with despotic sway,
Till vanquish'd by the genial lamp of day.
The forest now appears with rueful mien,
The groves display a like ungrateful scene:
No chearful verdure beautifies the field,
Nor can the vales their wonted odours yield:
The open lawns, with each dilated plain,
No semblance of their former bloom retain.
Now humid vapours, fogs and mists arise,
Which choak the air, and shade th' enwrap
skies;
Impetuous rains in fable streams descend,
And various meteors in the æther blend:

The

The rapid floods, which from the mountains
pour,

With voice like thunder thro' the vallies roar:
Whilst echo does the noisy din provoke,
And joins the discord from each vocal rock.
The silver ponds now shine in glitt'ring mail,
And frozen clouds discharge the patt'ring hail;
A coverlet of fleecy snow o'erspreads
The tow'ring hills, and cloathes the naked
meads. [strains,

No warblers now chant forth their sprightly
Nor with soft notes divert the list'ning swains;
No pleasing object entertains the sight;
Nor rural walks nor sylvan shades invite:
No more we trace the mazes of the grove,
Tho' once our calm retreat, and seat of love:
But now, with brisk wood-fire and nut-brown
ale,

In friendly social mirth, ourselves regale.

J. M.

GIN, a Poem, in Miltonick Verse. By
the Author of the Translation of Dr. Bar-
row's Latin Poem prefix'd to Paradise Lost.
(See p. 604.)

YE sacred nymphs, who on *Parnassus'* top
Attune symphonious lyres, thence went
to inspire

The daring genius of the laureat bard,
Deign your immortal aid; whilst touring high,
On wings expanded in the æther born,
Of potent *Gin's* unbounded pow'r, I sing.

Midst various butts, in phalanx order plac'd,
Of rum, from rich *Barbadoes* fertile coast,
Or brandy, produce of the *Gallic* clime;
Whose vivid streams and grateful draughts
altern

Pleasure redundant yield; the vessel stands,
Of monstrous size, huge * *Heidelbergian* tun.
O'er these astride the jolly god elate,
Young *Bacchus* with his bloated ruddy cheeks
Triumphant sits; with verdant wreaths entwined
His d'zzy head, and opiate runlett crown'd.
To this as to the *Delphian* shrine erst flock'd
Myriads, to scan the events of future deeds,
So fast the rabble rout transported come:
Hither resort the jocund songsters blithe
That thro' the streets their merry ballads chant.
Oft here I've seen the lees of mortal race,
Whom want and hunger, dread companions,
ey'd

With ghastly grin askance, quaff the rich juice,
Till the strong fumes intoxicate their brain:
Then he who late in cottage darkling dwelt,
Or cell obscure by glimmering ray scarce own'd;
Majestic pomp exerting, now assumes
Despotic sway; and with unsteady steps
Vaunting aloud, his regal will declares,
And an imaginary monarch reigns.
The humble mendicant in tatter'd garb

Of variegated hue, to brumal blasts
And penury, the poor man's guide, inur'd;
If the small pittance of his plaintive tone
Can purchase but a glass of potent gin,
His sole ambition's gain'd; nor splendid dress
Nor robes attractive of plebeian eyes
His admiration claim; benumbing cold
No more he feels, but spurns the hoary frost;
And strait, unmindful of his former state,
Rapt in ecstatic bliss, exulting runs.
When from some street we hear melodious
strains

Of *Wallfleet* oysters usher in the eve,
We thence to *Gin's* diffusive strength ascribe
The shrill stentorian voice. *Bellona's* sons
Inspir'd by this, midst arms refulgent rush,
Braving the discord of the jarring helms;
And meet undaunted in terrific forms,
The meagre visage of unhidebound death.
But more its all-dispensing power's invok'd,
When mortals early to their labours haste;
Whilst cold *Arcturus* and the frozen wain
Shed influence unperceiv'd by human ken
I'th' spangled hemisphere; e'er *Phæbus* mounts
In bright *Aurora's* lap, his glaring car,
That with unerring circuit measures out
Grateful vicissitude of day and night.
Mean while th' imperious dames with jovial
crew

Of prattling females, round a maple stool
Sipping vast goblets of below'd *bisbee*,
Their stand'rous news with never ceasing din
Promiscuous tell, till a reviving glass
Of this salubrious juice their malice stems,
And puts a period to their sage debates.
Nor does it to the ignoble motly herd
Confine its virtues; oft the rich it cheers
Whilst wine and brandy unregarded stand.
Inspir'd by this, the weary traveller
Benighted on the verge of danger tost,
Walks unappal'd amidst the noon of night:
Thro' drifts of snow the † *Caledonian* loon
Maugre the force of blustering *Boreas* stalks
Disdainful, with a draught of this elate,
And whiff of foul *Mundungus*, stinking weed.
Its power ‡ *Ierne's* sons o'er boggy moors,
And § *Cambro-Britons* on the naked tops
Of mountains bleak, with front serene display,
Secure with this 'midst elemental jars.

Hail mighty *Gin*, thou health preserving
dram!

Of warmth productive, plenteous and cheap,
From gentle *Thames* to *Danube's* torrent fam'd.
Hail! melancholy's foe, delightful bane
To pannic fear and care with furrow'd brow;
If the chaste bounds of moderation guide
Man's reason, else all good it strait subverts;
And human nature feels the dire effects,
Plung'd in abyss of woe and conscious shame.

E. C.

* A famous Tun of uncommon Size, at Heidelberg in Germany.

† A Name of Ireland.

§ Welchmen.

‡ The Scotchman.

The following came too late for last Month.

Epilogue to Volpone, acted at Bury-School,
Nov. 5.

GREAT minds to strokes of fortune never
yield,
But with fresh courage reassume the field;
'To night as mountebank I have been drubb'd,
What then? Sir William Read a knight was
dubb'd,

And many drubbings he, no doubt, sustain'd,
Before he that immortal honour gain'd.
I love such publick souls, and I'll essay
'To benefit mankind as much as they: [clin'd
Ne'er seem'd the world (since Adam) more in-
'To favour mountebanks of every kind: [spite,
'They've learn'd the graduate blockhead to de-
Ay--'twas Sir William open'd first their eyes.
Heav'n's! what a run about a twel-month post
Crude mercury had,--thé god ne'er mov'd so fast,
Ne'er drove (whatever p. ets feign) before
Such shoals of spirits to the Stygian shore.
But now Ward's pill unrival'd reigns alone,
Ward's peerless pill, what wonders has it done!
A Drury virgin, who convers'd with beaux,
Chanc'd by misfortune to lose half her nose;
She took a single pill,-- and I profess,
Nose has been growing from that minute--less.
A noted cuckold, ---I conceal his name,
Whose horns were pointed at, wher-e'er he
Took but a couple in a glass of wine, [came,
And since his forehead is---as smooth as mine.

An honest tar, being asham'd to beg,
Took half a dozen -- for a wooden leg, [ther)
And since protests, (I scorn the truth to smo-
He feels less pain in that than in the other.

What strange prodigious cures are these, O!
Ward!

Thou'lt surely be a knight, perhaps a lord.
Oh how thy glory fires my blood, thy pill [still:
Could not do't more,-- but I'll out-strip thee
Something will I invent, shall youth restore,
And driv'd eath off, tho' rapping at the door;
Then shall Ward's pill be never heard of more.

TAVY's Speech.

PLESS hur prave eyes! hur's half afraid
'To speak the ferse now hur has made:
But lest you think hur prains a tunce;
Look you, hur'll out with it at once:
And tho' hur may be wrong some times,
Hur'll sure and give you all the rhimes;
If not, hur hopes you'll grant excuses,
Nor sit like judges on hur muses:
Hur heart e'en quakes within hur guts,
Hur pegs you will not hang the sluts.

Well then, and so hur Speech begins,
Hur guess you'll like hur by your grins;
Hur hopes hur nation's not the worst,
We're all porm shentlemen at first;
Tho' saucy infamy wou'd blot hur
Hur's sure Cadwallader begot hur.
Indeed hur owns on steep Welch rocks,
Hard fate constrains to feed hur flocks;

What then, good deeds! hur pook can see,
Kings has kept flocks as well as she.
What's hur with that outlandish name,
Whose freaks set Troy town in a flame?
Hur there? pho, pho, I pray you silence,
Why what! I read hur name a while hence-
Paris - yes now - (hur wish him wipt)
Who saw three Goddesses unstript,
And Menelaus' good woman made ill,
Who was a goatherd from hur cradle;
Tho' was a king inteed for all yet,
And liv'd on Ide, --- I think they call it.
That Ide, tho held such pig account in,
Hur warrants less than hur Welsh mountain.
Hur knows the story of the moon,
How the coy swain she puss'd at noon;
Fair 'Dymon --- hur can poast for pride
God Pan --- and some as good beside.
But where was any hur could mention,
Like hur St. Tavy for invention.
(Was hur own namesake too, ant save ye;
Pray you, hur own porm name was Tavy)
He chrestian soul for want of cats,
Contriv'd a wond'rous trap for rats:
Shew'd how vile mouster might be taken,
And sav'd his country's cheese and bacon;
And dairies of such vermine swept,
By English too in membrance kept;
For which each March, as pooks relate,
Hur's hang'd in effigy for state;
Not as some vulgars think in spite,
Meaning to stain hur glory by't,
But plac'd in honourable station
In mem'ry of hur famous nation;
With the renown'd red herring by hur,
That drew poor mouses in the wire:
And for hur crown, in feather's stead,
Sticks a huge leek to grace hur head:
Prave leek, whose sight and smell they say,
Did fright hur country's foes away.

But hold you now---hur pray your patience,
Hur's got a world of strange relations:
Of bold Sir Shinkin let hur tell,
St. Winifred, and of her well;
Of Owen too, that witch Glendore,
With all his imps, and twenty more;
Of such fam'd tales hur's got a stock,
Wou'd last an hour out by the clock.
Hur'll thro' 'em all now hur's begun,
Not she, hur cares not when hur's done.
Grant, Pollo, what hur will rehearse,
May have but all their legs in ferse.
Hur thinks hur pibles and hur prables
Was petter serve to please the rabbles.
Hold --- mem'ry fails hur, hur's in doubt,
Ay --- look you sure poor Tavy's out.
Hur pegs hur may not spoil hur part,
But let hur read the rest by heart.
* Pless hur --- some knave has stole her notes,
Hur'll home good lack, and feed hur goats.

* Searches his Pockets.

N. B. We have receiv'd several more Ma-
nuscripts from our Correspondents, which shall
be inserted in our next. The

The GENTLEMAN's
Monthly Intelligencer.

DECEMBER, 1734.



At a Court of Common-Council the Chamberlain of London reported, that the Money raised by Fines for being excused from serving the Office of Sheriff, was all laid out in 3 per Cent. Annuities, and that the same amounted to 19,655*l.* Stock.

THURSDAY, Dec. 5.

Came an Express to Court, with Advice that the Princess of Orange having been indispos'd at Calais, her Royal Highness and the Prince did not set out for Holland till Yesterday Morning about Nine o'Clock, when they went to Graveling, and this Day, were to pass Dunkirk, and from thence proceed upon the Canals to Newport, Bruges, Sas-van-Ghent, Bergen-op-Zoom, Willemsstadt, Delft, and so to the Hague. The Prince met her Royal Highness at Calais just upon her landing.

SATURDAY, 7.

Came on a Trial in the Court of Common-Pleas, Westminster, wherein John Shiptorp, Printer, was Plaintiff, against John Stevens, Book-binder, Defendant, for exercising the Art and Mystery of Printing, not having serv'd 7 Years to the Trade; and after several learned Arguments by the Counsel on both Sides, the Jury gave six Months Damages for the Plaintiff, 40 Shillings a Month being the Statute of 5 Eliz. (See p. 384.)

The Sessions ended at the Old Bailey, when the eight following Malefactors received Sentence of Death, viz. Aaron Pritchard, for breaking open the Till of Mr. Hebbert, Sen. in Ludgate-street, and stealing from thence about 6*l.* and a Diamond Ring. Ambrose Thurman, for stealing a Silver Tankard out of the House of Mr. Edmond Eyles at the Bull-Head in Leaden-ball-street, Value 8*l.* William Williams, for the Murder of Corporal Roe, at Somersset-House. Peter Hugbes, for robbing Mr. Syms at the Red-Lion-Inn near Charing-Cross, of Plate and Money to a considerable Value. Edward Atkins, for

stealing several Pair of Silver Buckles from Mr. Ledger. Samuel Flewvellen, for picking the Pocket of Edward Salisbury of a Silver Watch, Value 5*l.* Mary Bowman, for stealing a Gold Ring, three Portugal Pieces, Value 10*l.* 16*s.* five Moidores, six Guineas and a Half from Pearse Clay. And James Casey, for robbing John Atkinson on the Highway in Whitechapel-Fields, of a Piece of Checque Linnen, containing 31 Yards, and some Halfpence. Isaac Berridge, Roger Arnold and Elizabeth Pembroke, were tried for the Murder of Richard Cantillon, Esq; The Evidence for the King consisted of 15 Witnesses, and about the same Number gave Testimony to the general good Character of the Prisoners, who, after a Trial which lasted five Hours, were brought in Not Guilty. (See p. 494.) Forty one were cast for Transportation, and forty four acquitted.

Mrs. Harris, a Quaker, well known for her great Skill in Needlework, was introduc'd to her Majesty, and presented her with two Caps of uncommon Fineness, design'd for the Princess of Orange, as Part of her Childbed Linnen.

In the Seams of that design'd for a Prince was work'd,

As Providence to glorious William gave
These happy nations which he came to save:
Still may kind heaven, with royal honours, bless
His princely race, and send us large increase.

And there were other Verses in the Cap design'd for a Princess. With them she deliver'd the following Address to her Majesty:

May it please the Queen,

A Faithful Subject of thine, and one of those call'd Quakers, (a People who have distinguish'd themselves by their Love to thy Family) has been excited by the happy Marriage of that amiable Princess thy eldest Daughter with the Prince of Orange, to shew that the pleasing Thoughts of it remained with her many Days. I have, O Queen, with my own Hands, (tho' I am more than 64 Years of Age) wrought this

666 *Domestick Occurrences in* DECEMBER, 1734.

this Linnen, which I have taken the Liberty to present to thy Royal Hand; I beseech thee suffer thy Grandchild to wear it; and may the Almighty, who has made thee Mother of many Children, make them and their Children Comforts to thee and to thy People. So prays thy humble but faithful Subject,

MARY HARRIS.

Mrs. Harris had the Honour to deliver the Caps into her Majesty's own Hand, and received her Thanks for them.

WEDNESDAY, 11.

Came on a Trial at Guildhall, on an Action brought by an Officer at the *White-Horse-Inn* in *Fleet-street*, against Sir William Billers and others, for committing him to the *Poultry Compter* last *Easter*, for hissing and insulting Sir William when Lord Mayor, in the Procession to *St. Bride's*; and the Plaintiff was non-suited.

SATURDAY, 21.

One of his Majesty's Messengers arrived at *St. James's*, with Advice, that their Royal and Serene Highnesses the Prince and Princess of *Orange*, were arrived at the *Hague* in good Health.

WEDNESDAY, 25.

This Morning, about two o'Clock, Mr. Ward, a Constable, went with a Warrant from the Lord Mayor, to a Shoe-maker's in *Queen-street, Cheapside*, to search for the Valet-de-Chambre of a certain Noble Lord, who was charg'd with seducing away a young Lady of 50,000 *l.* Fortune, and a Coheiress: The Lord, who was her Guardian, and two other Persons of Quality, were with the Constable; and being admitted into the House, they were directed up to the Chamber, where they found the Valet-de-Chambre and the young Lady together; upon which the Constable carried him to the *Poultry-Compter*. She is but 14 Years of Age, and was married in a white Frock and Hanging-Sleeve-Coat. The Lord her Guardian gave the Constable a Guinea for his Trouble, and took away the young Lady in a Coach.

MONDAY, 30.

John Butler, Owen Pritchard, Ambrose Thurman, and James Casey, were this Day executed at *Tyburn*.

TUESDAY, 31.

William Williams, the Soldier, for the Murder of Corporal *Roe*, was executed over-against *Somerfet-House*, and was afterwards hang'd in Chains on *Turnham-Green*. The rest who were condemn'd the two last Sessions, were repriev'd. (See p. 551, 665.)

A few Days since about 100 Yards of the North-East End of the Island of *Portland*, sunk into the Sea, by which the Pier is in a great Measure destroyed, at least it is computed that 4000 *l.* will not make good the Damage. The Sinking of this Point of Land

occasioned a Crack a considerable Distance in the Island, which greatly alarmed the neighbouring Inhabitants.

MARRIAGES and BIRTHS

HON. Robert Byng, Esq; Member of Parliament for *Plymouth*, married to the Daughter of Jonathan Forward, Esq; William Peere Williams, Esq; (second Son of William Peere Williams, Esq;) to Miss Seignoret, Daughter of a rich Italian Merchant, a 40,000 *l.* Fortune.

Capt. Vaughan, Brother to the Lord Viscount *Lisburne*, to Mrs. Lydell, a near Relation to Sir Henry Lydell, Bart.

The Lady of the Hon. John Spencer, Esq; Grandson to her Grace the Dutchess Dowager of *Marlborough*, and only Brother to the present Duke, safely delivered of a Son and Heir.

The Lady of Sir John Heatbroke, Bart. brought to Bed of a Daughter.

The Lady Frances Meadows, Sister to his Grace the Duke of *Kingston*, likewise brought to Bed of a Daughter.

The Lady of the Right Hon. William Connolly, Esq; one of his Majesty's most Hon. Privy Council in *Ireland*, brought to Bed of a Son and Heir.

DEATHS.

REV. Mr. Charnock, Fellow of *All-Souls* College, *Oxon*; at his House near *Barham-Down* in *Kent*.

Dr. John Cockman, an eminent Physician.

Mr. John Potts, Groom of the Bed-Chamber to the King, and Collector of the Window-Lights for *Middlesex*.

Mr. Walters, one of the Grooms of the Great Chamber to his Majesty.

At *Hindon* in *Wilts*, Gyles Eyre, Esq; eldest Son of Sir Gyles Eyre, Knt. appointed one of the Justices of the King's-Bench at the Revolution.

Freeman Desbouverie, Esq; Son of the late Sir Christopher Desbouverie.

Sir George Saunders, Knt. Vice-Admiral of the Red Squadron of Great Britain, and Member of Parliament for *Queensborough* in *Kent*.

At *Edinburgh*, Mr. John Mac-Gill, Surgeon-Apothecary to the King.

Abigail Lady Masham, Wife of the Right Hon. Samuel Lord Masham, of *Oates* in *Essex*.

William Dowse, Esq; an Alderman of *Huntington*, and Receiver-General of the Land-Tax for that County.

The famous Painter, Peter Tillemans of *Antwerp*.

Hon. Henry Bertie, Esq; second Son of *Montagu* Earl of *Lindsey*.

Dr.

Dr. Pearson, an eminent Physician.

The noted Mr. Figg, the Prize-Fighter.

At *Haughton in Shropshire*, Sir *Humphry Brigges*, Bart.

On the 14th about 3 in the Morning at his Seat at *Becket* in the Parish of *Sbriwenbam*, *Berks*, *John*, Lord *Barrington* of *Newcastle* in the County of *Dublin*, and Viscount *Barrington* of *Ardglass* in the County of *Down*, so created, *June 11, 1720, 7 George I.* In the Year 1714, he was elected a Member of Parliament for the Town of *Berwick upon Tweed*, for which Town he was also elected a Member in the next Parliament, but expelled the House of Commons on Account of the Undertaking call'd the *Harbourg Lottery* in 1720: He was a Candidate for the said Town at the last Election, against the Lord *Polworth*, but lost the Election by a Majority of four. Between 20 and 30 Years ago, *John Wildman*, of *Becket*, Esq; settled his large Estate on him, tho' no Relation, and had but little Acquaintance with him; having always resolv'd, as is express'd on his Monument in *Sbriwenbam Church*, *To adopt some Person his Heir, according to the Method of the Romans.* Some Years after, another considerable Estate was left him by Mr. *Barrington* of *Essex*; whereupon he took that Name by Act of Parliament, his former Name being *Shute*. His Lordship was the Author of a Book entitled, *Miscellanea Sacra*; and also of *An Essay on the several Dispensations of God to Mankind*; and of several Pamphlets in Favour of the Dissenters. His Lordship married *Anne*, Daughter and Co-heir to Sir *William Daines*, of *Bristol*, Kt. by whom he has nine Children now living, and is succeeded in Honour and Estate by his eldest Son, *William Wildman*, now Lord Viscount *Barrington*.

Sir *Robert Kemp*, Bart. Knight of the Shire for *Suffolk*.

John Merril, of *Lainston* near *Winchester*, in *Southamptonshire*, Esq;

Sir *Brian Cooke*, of *Wheatly* in *Yorkshire*, Bart.

At *Chester*, aged 96, Mrs. *Elix. Booth*, (call'd Knight *Betty Booth*, there being another Maiden Lady of the same Name).

At *Edinburgh*, aged 76, *Anne* Countess of *Murray*, Aunt to the present Duke of *Argyll*.

The Right Hon. *Henry Newport*, Earl of *Bradford*, Viscount *Newport* and Baron *Newport*, of *Ercall*, Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum for the County of *Montgomery*.

John Cummins, Esq; a Gentleman of 1500*l.* per Annum.

Ecclesiastical PREFERMENTS.

MR. *Robert Jenkins* presented to the Rectory of *Westbore*, *Kent*.

The Lord Bishop of *Winchester* appointed

his Son Mr. *Hoadley* to be Chancellor of the Diocese of *Winchester*.

Mr. *Peter Vallawine* chosen one of the Minor Canons of *Canterbury*.

Mr. *Hart* presented to the Living of *Gosfield*, *Essex*.

Mr. *Charles Milles* collated to the Rectory of *Harbledown*, near *Canterbury*.

Mr. *Burton* presented to the Living of *Moreton*, *Surrey*.

Dr. *Bradshaigh* made Chaplain to the King.

The Rev. Dr. *Secker*, Rector of St. James's, *Westminster*, nominated by his Majesty to the See of *Bristol*.

Mr. *John Thomas* presented to the Rectory of *Kyl-y-bebil*, *Glamorganshire*.

Mr. *Benj. Owen* to the Rectory of St. Giles, *Essex*.

Mr. *William Morehouse* to the Rectory of *Sbingham*, *Norfolk*.

Mr. *John Conant*, to the Rectory of *Hastlingay*.

Mr. *William Jesse*, M. A. presented to the Vicarage of *Amwell*, in *Hertfordshire* and Diocese of *London*.

Mr. *Tho. Cooke*, Fellow of St. Peter's College in *Cambridge*, to the Rectory of *Black Notley* in *Essex*.

Dr. *Holmes*, President of St. John's College, *Oxford*, appointed one of his Majesty's Chaplains in Ordinary.

Dr. *Martin Benson* nominated Bp. of *Gloucester*, in the room of Dr. *Sydall*, deceas'd.

PROMOTIONS Civil and Military.

COUNTESSES of *Burlington* appointed Mistress of the Robes and Groom of the Stole to the Queen, in the room of the Countesses of *Suffolk*.

Mr. *Godfrey* made Deputy-Treasurer to the Prince, in the room of the late Mr. *Andrews*.

Mr. *Hugh Steel* and Mr. *Monk* appointed Grooms of the Chambers to the King, in the room of the late Mr. *Walters* and Mr. *Potts*.

Capt. *Thomas* made Major of Col. *Harrison's* Reg. of Foot, in the room of the late Major *How*.

Sir *John Gonson*, Knt. appointed Col. of the second Regiment of the *Tower Hamlets*, in the room of Sir *William Oxbourne*, deceas'd.

Earl of *Granard* (late Lord *Forbes*) sworn in Rear-Admiral of the Red, in the room of Sir *George Saunders*, deceas'd. Admiral *Haddock* sworn in Rear-Admiral of the White, in the room of the Earl of *Granard*. Capt. *Hagar* appointed and sworn Rear-Admiral of the Blue, in the room of Admiral *Haddock*.

Earl of *Crawford* made Col. of a Reg. of Foot in the *Leeward Islands*, in the room of the late Brig. Gen. *Jones*.

Capt. *James Compton* made Commander of the Sea-horse Man of War.

Capt. *Digby Dent* appointed Commodore of a Squadron for the *West-Indies*. Sir

668 BANKRUPTS, &c. in DECEMBER, 1734.

Sir *Wm. Ashburnham*, Bart. made Receiver of the Alienation-Office, in the room of the late Judge *Jessop*.

Sheriffs appointed for the Year ensuing.

Bedf. Tho. Groom, Esq; *Berks.* Hen. Tomkins, Esq; *Bucks.* John Ware, Esq; *Cumb.* Fletcher Partis, Esq; *Derby.* Fran. Sitwell, Esq; *Devon.* Nich. Hooper, Esq; *Dorset.* Edm. Hayter, Esq; *Essex.* Sam. Symons Pebys, Esq; *Gloucest.* Tho. Lingen, Esq; *Heref.* Robert Mynas, Esq; *Hert.* Anth. Rodney Buckeridge, Esq; *Kent.* Bladwyn Duppa, jun. Esq; *Leicest.* Cha. Bosville, Esq; *Linc.* Rob. Lychford, Esq; *Manm.* Rich. Lewis, Esq; *Norf.* Geo. Smith, Esq; *Northamp.* Tho. Langton, Esq; *Northum.* Hen. Ellison, Esq; *Notting.* Tho. Lister, Esq; *Oxf.* Sebastian Smythe, Esq; *Rut.* T. Tomlyn, Esq; *Sbrop.* Sherrington Davenport, Esq; *Somerfet.* John Brickdale, Esq; *Soutbam.* Rob. Graham, Esq; *Staff.* John Hodgets, Esq; *Suff.* John Reynolds, Esq; *Surry,* John Copeland, Esq; *Warw.* Rob. Parker, Esq; *Wilt.* Wm. Vylett, Esq; *Worcest.* Geo. Nash, Esq; *Carmar.* Tho. Bavan, Esq; *Card.* Wm. Brigstock, Esq; *Glam.* Grant Gibbon, Esq; *Breck.* Evan Williams, Esq; *Rad.* John Clarke, Esq; *Pemb.* Werriott Owen, Esq; *Montg.* Tho. Brown, Esq; *Flint.* Tho. Griffith, Esq; *Carnar.* Hump. Meredith, Esq; *Angl.* — Roberts, Esq; *Merton.* Rob. Vaughan, Esq;

Persons declared BANKRUPTS.

MILES WRAY, late of Great Grimsby, in Lincolnshire, Merchant.

John Blundy the Elder, of Greenham, in Thabam, Berks, Brewer.

Tho. Simpson, of Bedford, in Bedfordshire, Draper.

Thomas Aldwell, of St. George's Hanover-Square, Middlesex, Dealer and Chapman.

Sam. Dudson, late of Mansfield, in Nottinghamshire, Apothecary.

John Hall, late of Holborn, Middlesex, Linnen-Draper.

Edmund Hodgkins, of Stanlake, Oxon, Baker and Chapman.

Ralph Ashmall, of Stockton, Durban, Grocer and Chapman.

Adam Ewart, late of Altrincham, in Cheshire, Chapman.

Francis Russel, of German-street, Westminster, Linnen-Draper and Haberdasher of Small Wares.

Thomas Goffe, of Piccadilly, Middlesex, Blacksmith.

John Michell, of St. Botolph without Aldgate, London, Mercer.

Richard Casborne, of Sobam in the County of Cambridge, Grocer, Tallow-Chandler, Farmer and Chapman.

John Swinden, of the Parish of St. Saviour's Southwark in the County of Surrey, Brewer.

A General BILL of Christnings and Burials, within the Bills of Mortality, from Dec. 11, 1733, to Dec. 10, 1734.

Christened,		Buried,	
Males	8955	Males	13016
Females	8675	Females	13046

In all 17630

In all 26062

Decreased in the Burials this Year 3171.

Died,

Under 2 Years of Age		10752
Between	2 and 5	2830
	5 and 10	1228
	10 and 20	829
	20 and 30	1718
	30 and 40	2212
	40 and 50	2154
	50 and 60	1668
	60 and 70	1324
	70 and 80	793
	80 and 90	484
	90 and 100	66

A Hundred and One 1. A Hundred and Four 1. A Hundred and Five 1. A Hundred and Six 1.

Prices of Goods, &c. in DECEMBER, 1734: 669

Towards the End of the Month.

STOCKS.

S. Sea 83 $\frac{1}{2}$	Afric. 20
—Bonds 31. 16	Royal Aff. 94 $\frac{1}{2}$
—Annu. 105 $\frac{1}{2}$	Lon. ditto 12 $\frac{1}{4}$
Bank 107	T. Build. 4
—Circ. 51.	3 per C. An. 94 $\frac{1}{2}$
Mil. Bank 107	Eng. Copper 21.
India 149	Welsh dit.
—Bonds 41.	

The Course of EXCHANGE.

Amst. 35 9 a 10	Bilboa 40 $\frac{3}{8}$
D. Sight 34 7 a 8	Leghorn 50 $\frac{1}{2}$ a $\frac{1}{8}$
Rotter. 35 10 a 11	Genoa 52 $\frac{1}{8}$
Hamb. 35 3	Venice 50 $\frac{1}{2}$
P. Sight 31 $\frac{1}{4}$ a $\frac{1}{8}$	Lisb. 5 5 $\frac{1}{4}$
Bourd. 31 $\frac{1}{2}$ a $\frac{1}{8}$	Oport. 5 5 $\frac{1}{8}$
Cadiz 40 $\frac{7}{8}$	Antw. 36 4
Madrid 40 $\frac{7}{8}$	Dublin 11 $\frac{3}{8}$ a $\frac{1}{2}$

Prices of Goods at Bear-Key.

Wheat 26 30	Oates 11 14
Rye 18 21	Tares 18 23
Barley 15 18	Pease 20 22
H. Beans 16 20	H. Pease 16 19
P. Malt 18 23	B. Malt 16 22

Abstract of the London WEEKLY BILL, from Nov. 26. to Dec. 24.

Christned	Males 635	1280
	Females 645	
Buried	Males 876	1830
	Females 954	

Died under 2 Years old	691
Between 2 and 5	180
5 10	55
10 20	56
20 30	126
30 40	162
40 50	148
50 60	164
60 70	108
70 80	78
80 90	54
90 and upwards	8

Prices of Goods, &c. in London. Hay 36s. to 42s. a Load.

Coals per Chaldron 25 to 26	Ditto second Sort 46s. a 50	Mastick white 4s. od.
New Hops p. Hun. 51. 10 to 61.	Loaf Sugar double ref. 12d.	Opium 9s.
Old Hops 31. 10 to 41.	Ditto single refine 8d.	Quicksilver 4s. 3d
Rape Seed 101. a 111.		Rhubarb 18 a 25s.
Lead the Fodder 19 Hun. 1 balf	Grocery Wares by the lb.	Sarsaparilla 3s. od
on board, 141. a 141. 101.	Cinamon 7s. 8d.	Saffron English 22s 6
Tin in Blocks 31. 14.	Cloves 9s. 1d.	Wormseeds none
Ditto in Bars 31. 16s.	Mace 15s. od	Balsam Copaiua 3s. od.
Copper Eng. best 51. 5s.	Nutmegs 8s. 7d.	Balsam of Gilead 20s.
Ditto ordinary 41. 16s. a 51.	Sugar Candy white 14d. a 18d.	Hypocacuanæ 4s. a 5s
Ditto Barbary 851. a 951.	Ditto brown 6d.	Ambergreece per oz. 8s.
Iron of Bilboa 151. 5s. per Ton.	Pepper for home consump. 16d.	
Ditto of Sweden 161. 10s.	Ditto for Exportation 12d. balf.	Wine, Brandy, and Rum.
Tallow 28 a 30s.	Tea Bobea fine 10s. a 12s.	Oporto red per Pipe 25 a 261.
Country Tallow 27s. od.	Ditto ordinary 8 a 9s.	Ditto white none
Cochineal 18s. 9d.	Ditto Congo 10 a 12s.	Lisbon red 35 a 401.
	Ditto Pekoe 14 a 16s.	Ditto white 26 a 281.
	Ditto Green fine 9 a 12s.	Sberry 261.
	Ditto Imperial 9 a 12s.	Canary new 25 a 281.
	Ditto Hyson 20 a 25s.	Ditto old 32 a 341.
		Florence 31. 0s.
Grocery Wares by the C.	Drugs by the lb.	French red 301. a 401.
Raisins of the S. new 32s.	Balsam Peru 14s.	Ditto white 201.
Ditto Malaga Frailes 17s.	Cardamoms 3s. 6d.	Mountain Malaga old 241.
Ditto Smirna new 22s.	Campbire resin'd 9s. 6	Ditto new 20 l. a 211.
Ditto Alicant 18s.	Crabs Eyes 11. 8d.	Brandy Fr. per Gal. 7s.
Ditto Lipra new 19s.	Fallop 21. 8	Rum of Jam. 6 a 7s.
Ditto Belvedera 29s.	Manna 2s. 6d. a 4s	Lew. Islands 6s. 4d. 6s. 10d.
Currants new 45s.		
Prunes French none		
Figs 20s.		
Sugar Powder best 54 a 59s.		

FROM

670 FOREIGN ADVICES in DECEMBER, 1734.

COUNT Traun, the Governor of *Capua*, having held out several Months, spite of Famine and all the Fire of the *Spaniards*, capitulated the 22d of last Month.

Advice from *Italy*, That Count *Konigsberg* having divided his Army into two Bodies, march'd with one over the *Oglia*, and sent the other cross the *Po* under the Command of General *Wallis*: That a large Corps of the latter having advanced to *Gussalla*, and summoned the Governor, who was a *Frenchman*, to surrender, Monsieur gave them so unpolite an Answer, that they began to prepare for besieging it; but before they had made any Progress, Marshal *Braglio* arriv'd with 20,000 Men from the allied Army, and after a short Resistance, obliged the *Germans* to retire with Loss: That the whole Body of the *Imperial* Army was again retreated beyond the *Po* and the *Oglia*.

From the *Hague*, That the Council of State had presented to their High-Mightinesses the State of the War for the next Year, which (notwithstanding the great Expectations of the Publick) was the same in Substance with last Year. That the two following Articles had been communicated to the *Imperial* and *French* Ambassadors:

1. Whether the *Emperor* and *France* would be content that *Don Carlos* remain King of *Naples* and *Sicily*, on Condition of giving the House of *Austria*, *Parma* and *Placentia*, with a Part of *Milan* and the Succession to *Tuscany*, as an Equivalent?

2. Whether *K. Stanislaus*, preserving his Regal Titles, will be satisfied to be made Duke of *Lorraine*, and that Dutchy erected into an Electorate? The Duke of *Lorraine* to marry the eldest Archduchess, to be declared King of the *Romans*, and to have *Parma* and *Placentia* immediately, and *Tuscany* after the Death of the Great Duke? Or in case this second Article is rejected, Whether *Poland* shall not be divided between *Stanislaus* and *Augustus*, the longest Liver to take the Whole?

They have Advice in *France*, that the Government of *Naples* is very much embarrassed: They hear of nothing but Disturbances, Revolts, and Conspiracies on all Sides. The *Grandeess* are for *Spain*; but the People in general are for the *Emperor*.

From *Konigsberg*. The *Polish* Lords and Prelates, who were at *Dantzick*, and are come to *K. Stanislaus* here, have written a Letter to the Pope, wherein they disavow every Step they took in Favour of *K. Augustus*.

The following Prayer has been printed and dispersed in several Cities of *Germany*, by Order of their supreme Magistrates.

The Prayer of his Serene Highness Prince Eugene, Generalissimo of his Imperial Majesty's Forces on the Rhine, which he daily useth with great Devotion.

I believe in thee, O my God! Do thou strengthen my Faith; I hope in thee, confirm my Hopes: I love thee, inflame my Love more and more: I repent of all my Sins, but do thou increase my Repentance!

As my first Beginning I worship thee, as my last End I long for thee: As my eternal Benefactor I praise thee, and as my supreme Protector I pray unto thee.

That it may please thee, O Lord, to guide and lead me by thy Providence, to keep me in Obedience by thy Justice, to comfort me by thy Mercy, and to protect me by thy Almighty Power.

I submit unto thee all my Thoughts Words and Deeds, as well as my Afflictions, Pains and Sufferings, and I desire to have thee always in my Mind, to do all my Works in thy Name, and for thy Sake to bear all Adversity with Patience.

I will nothing, but what thou wilt, O God! because 'tis agreeable unto thee. O give me Grace that I may be attentive in my Prayer, temperate in my Diet, vigilant in my Conduct, and unmoveable in all good Purposes.

Grant, most merciful Lord, that I may be true and faithful to those that have intrusted me with their Secrets; that I may be courteous and kind towards all Men, and that both in my Words and Actions, I may shew unto them a good Example.

Dispose my Heart to admire and praise thy Goodness, to hate all Errors and evil Works, to love my Neighbour, and to despise the World.

Assist me, good God, in subduing Lust by Mortification, Covetousness by Liberality, and Anger by Mildness, and Lukewarmness by Zeal and Fervency.

Enable me to conduct myself with Prudence in all Transactions, and to shew Courage in Danger, Patience in Adversity, and in Prosperity an humble Mind.

Let thy Grace illuminate my Understanding, direct my Will, sanctify my Body, and bless my Soul.

Make me diligent in curbing all irregular Affections, zealous in imploring thy Grace, careful in keeping thy Commandments, and constant in working out my own Salvation.

Finally, O God, make me sensible how little is the World, how great thy Heavens, how short Time, and how long will be the blessed Eternity!

O that I may well prepare myself for Death! That I may dread thy Judgments, that I may avoid the Torments of Hell, and obtain of thee, O God! eternal Life, thro' the Merits of *Jesus Christ* our Lord. Amen.

ARTS, GRAMMAR, and MATHEMATICS.

1. **DICTIONARIUM Polygraphicum:** Or, the whole Body of Arts regularly digested. Illustrated with great Variety of Figures curiously engraven on above 50 large Copper Plates. Printed for C. Hitch, C. Davis, and S. Aussen. In 2 Vols. 8vo.

2. The Greek Grammar; or, a short and plain, critical and comprehensive Method of Teaching and Learning the Greek Tongue; containing the Substance of what has been taught by the best Masters. By John Holmes, Master of the publick Grammar School in Holt, Norfolk. Printed for A. Bettefworth, and C. Hitch, price 2 s. 6 d.

3. Geometrical Lectures: Explaining the Generation, Nature, and Properties of Curve Lines, read in the University of Cambridge. By Isaac Barrow, D. D. Professor of the Mathematicks and Master of Trinity College, &c. Translated from the Latin Edition, revised, corrected, and amended by the late Sir Isaac Newton. Beautifully printed with more than 200 Figures and Schemes engraved on several large Copper Plates. By Edmund Stone, F. R. S. Printed by S. Aussen. pr. 6 s.

HISTORICAL.

4. The History of the Life and Death of our Blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Collected from the Writings of Taylor, Hammond, Whitby, Grotius, Dupin, Calmet, Prideaux, Basnage, Cave, &c. Adorn'd with beautiful Prints. To be publish'd in Numbers every Fortnight, N^o 1, 2. Sold by J. Wilford; of whom Proposals may be had.

5. A Journey over Land, from the Gulf of Honduras to the Great South-Sea. Perform'd by John Cockburn, and five other Englishmen, viz. Thomas Rounce, Richard Bannister, John Holland, Thomas Robinson, and John Ballman; who were taken by a Spanish Guarda Costa, in the John and Jane, Edward Burt Master, and set on Shore at a Place called Porto-Cavalo, naked and wounded, as mentioned in several News-Papers of October, 1731. Printed for C. Rivington, 8vo, price 5 s.

6. A Defence of the ancient Historians: With a particular Application of it to the History of Ireland and Great Britain, and all other northern Nations. In a Dialogue between a Protestant and Papist, an Englishman and an Irishman. By Francis Lord Bishop of Down and Connor. To which are added, two Sermons, the first preach'd on Occasion of the Union, and the other at a publick Commencement at Cambridge. Sold by T. Longman, price 3 s. 6 d.

7. The Lives of the most remarkable Criminals, from the Year 1720, to the present Time. The 3d Vol. Printed for J. Osborne, price 2 s. 6 d.

MISCELLANEOUS.

8. A Dissertation on God's Command to Abraham to offer up his Son Isaac, for a Sacrifice. By William Wbiston, M. A. Printed for J. Wbiston, price 6 d.

9. A farther Examination of Dr. Clarke's Notions of Space; with some Considerations on the Possibility of Eternal Creation. In Reply to Mr. John Clarke's Third Defence of Dr. Samuel Clarke's Demonstration, &c. To which are added, some Remarks on Mr. Jackson's Exceptions to Dr. Clarke's Notions of Space examined; in his Existence and Unity, &c. By Joseph Clarke, M. A. Fellow of Magdalen-College, Cambridge. Printed for J. Crownfield, price 2 s.

10. Christian Liberty asserted, and the Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity vindicated; against a Book written by Dr. Waterland, and intitled, The Importance of the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity asserted, &c. By a Clergyman in the Country. Printed for J. Noon, price 2 s.

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14. The Drop and Pill of Mr. Ward consider'd, as well in respect to their Composition as their Operation and Effects. In an Epistle to Dr. James Jurin, Fellow of the College of Physicians and of the Royal Society, from Daniel Turner of the same College of Physicians in London. Printed for J. Clarke, under the Royal-Exchange, price 6 d.

15. Status humanæ Naturæ, expositus in Oratione coram Medicis Londinensibus, habita Festa D. Lucæ Die, 1754. A Johanne Hollinga. Printed for J. Tonson, price 1 s.

POETRY, &c.

16. Thoughts upon the four last Things: Death, Judgment, Heaven, Hell. In four Parts. Part I, Death. Printed for L. Giliver, price 1 s.

17. A compleat Melody; or, the Harmony of Zion. In three Parts. By William Tansur, of Ewell near Epsom in Surrey. Printed for J. Hodges, price 3 s.

18. Merlin; or the Devil of Stonebenge. By Mr. Theobald. Printed for J. Watts, pr. 6 d.

19. Female Chastity, Truth, and Sanctity; A Satire. Printed for N. Harris, price 1 s.

20. Sober Advice from Horace to the young Gentlemen about Town; after the Manner of Mr. Pope. Printed for T. Boreman, pr. 1 s.

21. Miscellaneous Poems on several Occasions.

caſions. By Mr. Dawson. Printed for J. Roberts, price 1 s.

22. A beautiful young Nymph going to Bed. Printed for J. Roberts, price 6 d.

23. The comical Hiſtory of *Eſtevanille Gonzales*, ſurnam'd *The Merry Fellow*, from the *Spaniſh* Original by Mr. Le Sage. Translated from the *French*. Printed for W. Mears; 12mo, price 3 s.

POLITICAL.

24. The Reasons alledged againſt Dr. Rundle's Promotion to the See of *Gloucester*, ſeriously and diſpaſſionately conſidered. By a Gentleman of the Temple. Printed for J. Roberts, price 6 d.

25. The Caſe of Dr. Rundle's Promotion to the See of *Gloucester*, impartially conſidered: Or, Some Remarks on a late Pamphlet, intituled, *The Reasons alledge'd againſt Dr. Rundle's Promotion to the See of Gloucester, ſeriously and diſpaſſionately conſider'd*. By a Clergyman in the Country. Printed for T. Cooper, price 6 d.

26. The Caſe decided; or Conſiderations ſhewing that the Gentleman of the Temple has fully juſtify'd the Oppoſition to Dr. Rundle's Promotion to the See of *Gloucester*. By a Friend to the Conſtitution. Printed for J. Roberts, price 6 d.

27. Conſiderations upon Dr. Rundle's Promotion to the See of *Gloucester*. In answer to a Pamphlet intituled, *The Reasons alledge'd againſt Dr. Rundle's Promotion, &c. ſeriously and diſpaſſionately conſider'd*. By a Friend of the Conſtitution. Printed for J. Roberts, price 4 d.

28. Some reaſonable Remarks on a Pamphlet, intituled, *Reasons alledged againſt Dr. Rundle's Promotion to the See of Gloucester ſeriously and diſpaſſionately conſider'd*. Being a full Detection of the many groſs Abſurdities, ſcandalous Invectives, fulſome Panegyrics, and unjuſt Miſrepresentations of the Author of that Pamphlet. To which is added, by way of Supplement, A ſhort Answer, publiſh'd in the *Weekly Miſcellany*, of Saturday, December 7, 1734. Printed for A. Dodd, E. Nutt, and E. Cook, price 6 d.

29. The Universal Politician: Or, Poſticks on all Sides. Wherein the Prerogative of the Crown, and the Dependence of Parliament, of late ſo much debated, and groſſly miſrepresented, are fairly and impartially examined. Printed for J. Roberts, price 1 s.

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SERMONS and THEOLOGY.

31. God the Defence and Glory of his Church. A Sermon preach'd at *Devonſhire-Square* on the 5th of November laſt. Printed for A. Ward, price 6 d.

32. Againſt popular Clamour and Tumults: A Sermon preach'd before the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, and Citizens of *London*, at the Cathedral Church of *St. Paul*, on Nov. 5, 1734, being the Anniverſary Thankſgiving-Day for the Deliverance from the Gun-Powder Treason, and for the happy Arrival of King *William III.* By *William Crow*, D. D. Rector of *St. Botolph, Biſhopsgate*, and Chaplain in Ordinary to his Maſteſty. Publiſh'd by Order of the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen. Printed for T. Woodward, price 6 d.

33. A Sermon preach'd in the *New Meeting-Houſe* in *Carter-Lane*, December 5, 1734, being the firſt Day of opening it for Religious Worſhip. By *Samuel Wright*, D. D. To which is annex'd, a Hymn compos'd for that Occaſion. Printed for R. Hett, price 4 d.

34. The ſeventeenth Article of the Church of *England*, explain'd; wherein its juſt and genuine Senſe is given, and her Clergy vindicated in their juſt Defence of Conditional Election. By *Thomas Horſeley*. Printed for J. Willford, price 6 d.

35. Obſervations on ſome Articles of the *Muggletonian Creed*. Sold by *Richard Hett*, price 6 d.

Juſt Publiſhed, in One Volume in Octavo, Price Five Shillings,

A JOURNEY over LAND, from the GULF of HONDURAS to the GREAT SOUTH-SEA. Performed by JOHN COCKBURN, and five other Engliſhmen, viz. *Thomas Rounce*, *Richard Banifter*, *John Holland*, *Thomas Robinſon*, and *John Ballman*: Who were taken by a *Spaniſh* Guarda-Coſta, in the *John* and *Jane*, *Edward Burt* Maſter, and ſet on Shoar at a Place called *Porto-Cavalo*, naked and wounded, as mentioned in ſeveral News-Papers of *October*, 1731. Containing, Variety of extraordinary Diſtreſſes and Adventures, and ſome new and uſeful Discoveries of the Inland of thoſe almoſt unknown Parts of *America*: As alſo, An exact Account of the Manners, Cuſtoms, and Behaviour of the ſeveral *Indians* inhabiting a Tract of Land of 2400 Miles; particularly of their Diſpoſitions towards the *Spaniards* and *Engliſh*. To which is added, a curious Piece, written in the Reign of King *James I.* and never before printed, intituled, *A Brief Discovery of ſome Things beſt worth Noticing in the TRAVELS of NICHOLAS WITHINGTON, a FACTOR in the Eaſt-Indias*. Printed for C. Rivington, at the Bible and Crown in *St. Paul's Church-yard*.